

LIFE OF GEORGE WISHART.



O. H. Walker.

Ph D. Oct
1924

INTRODUCTION.

One might readily be excused for thinking that there is little to be gained from the reconsideration of a subject which has received so much attention from previous writers as has the one with which we have herein attempted to deal.

Such, undoubtedly, would have been our own view, had we not been impressed by the fact that, although much has been said, little has been actually done in the way of providing a theory, at once consistent, and capable of doing justice to the known facts of the case.

The explanation of this lack of success appears to us to lie largely in the fact that the great majority of our predecessors have handicapped themselves, at the outset, by the adoption of certain pre-conceived ideas, for which they have subsequently attempted to wring confirmation from such facts as they have had at their disposal.

They may, indeed, be divided into two classes:- those who have set themselves out to prove that Wishart took no interest whatever in the political schemes of the time; and those who have tried, by every means in their power, to demonstrate his participation in the very basest and most unscrupulous of these.

Why it should have been considered necessary to adopt one or other of these extremes is, to us, inexplicable, for the truth, /

truth, we are convinced, is to be found in neither of them.

It should be kept in mind, that, in Wishart's day, religion and politics were so inextricably intertwined that a reformation in the Church could only be brought about by a change in the government of the country.

The view here taken consequently is that Wishart had, and was bound to have, a lively interest in such political schemes as seemed likely to further the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland. That he ever countenanced murder, however, as a means whereby that end might be attained is a wholly unjustified assumption.

The argument, which we have put forward in support of our position, may be summarised as follows: -

We hold that Wishart returned to England early in 1543 in order to place his services at the disposal of those captive Scots who had pledged themselves, among other things, to the overthrow of the Pope's authority in their native land.

The probability is that it was to the Earl of Glencairn that he specially attached himself, for subsequent events showed that the two were in intimate association with one another.

He did not return to Scotland until 1544 and, when he did /

did so, it was in company with Glencairn's Commissioners, of whose presence at Carlisle he was not likely to have known, if he had not been in close touch with their chief.

During the first year of his ministry in Scotland, he was under the special protection of Glencairn and his friends, and that fact doubtless saved him from immediate molestation at the hands of Cardinal Beaton.

In the second half of the year 1545, however, we find that the latter's attitude of non-interference suddenly turned to one of most active hostility and various attempts were made by him to have Wishart put out of the way.

This change of attitude has seemed to us to call for an explanation, though none has apparently been offered hitherto, and we have suggested that the cause of it is to be found in the discovery by Beaton of certain of the political schemes with which Glencairn, and others of the Protestant party in Scotland, had, from time to time, been identified.

Such a discovery, we have argued, would give him a certain hold over the conspirators, and it serves to throw light on what has been the hitherto unexplained failure of Glencairn and Cassillis to carry out their promise to support Wishart at the time of his visit to the Lothians.

They /

They had been warned, we argue, that Beaton was in a position to take drastic action against them and that it would consequently be impossible for them to appear in Edinburgh as they had intended to do.

Such was the news that Wishart received when at Haddington and, according to Knox's account, it would appear to have taken him completely by surprise.

It is perfectly clear, however, that, even before he set out for Edinburgh, he was fully alive to the imminent danger of his position and, though he possibly expected that his powerful, and hitherto faithful, protector would stand by him to the end, he was none the less convinced that nothing could save him from his impending doom.

It remains to be noted that, so far as is known, Glencairn took no part whatever in the various plots which were hatched against the Cardinal's life, and his abstention may reasonably be attributed to the influence which Wishart exercised over him.

The Scottish Church and the Papacy.

The early years of the 16th century, which witnessed the great religious upheaval of the Reformation, saw in Scotland a steadily increasing sense of dissatisfaction with regard to the existing condition of the Church in the country.

During the middle ages the relations between the Scottish Church and the Papacy had been, for the most part, close and cordial while it is not until the 15th century that we come upon traces of any really serious friction between the latter and the Scottish Crown and Parliament.

The Crown and the Papacy.

From that time onwards, however, disputes were constant owing largely to a determination on the part of the Crown to assert its rights to fill vacant prelacies in opposition to the Papal claim to make "provision" for them.

A further quarrel, which broke out between James IV. and Popes Julius II. and Leo X. over the question of political policy, ended in the disaster at Flodden and so embittered the Scots that they contemplated the entire renunciation of their Papal allegiance.

Heresy in Scotland.

Lollardism.

The 15th and 16th centuries moreover saw antagonism to the Church on religious grounds; due mainly to the spread of Wyclif's teaching through the agency of certain Oxford students and refugees from persecution in England.

It is to the close of the 14th century, however, that we must go back if we wish to discover the first traces of heresy /

heresy in the country, for, in the year 1398, we find the Scottish Estates binding the heir to the Crown to "restrain cursit men and heretics, and those that are thrust furth of the Church,"¹ while Albany, the Regent during the captivity of James I., is described by Wyntoun as a "hater of Lollards and heretics."²

The spread of Lollardism during the 15th century is evidenced by the fact that it was considered necessary to appoint an "Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity"³ and the activities of the first holder of that office are seen in the trial and condemnation of James Resby in 1406 or 7.⁴

In June 1416, within three years of the erection of the University of St. Andrews, an oath to support the Church against the attacks of the Lollards was imposed upon all its Masters of Arts;⁵ while, nine years later, Parliament /

1. Statutes xlvii; Theiner pp. 244-5; Lang - (History 1. p. 289) puts the date as 1399; Macewen ("Hist. of the Church in Scotland" 1. p. 325) points out that this provision is more definitely worded than that of the Coronation Oath of 1329.
2. Wyntouns - "Orygynale Cronykil" lx. 26.
- "He was a constant Catholike
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike."
3. See Appendix No. 1.
4. For account of Resby, see Scotichronicon XV, 20.
5. McCrie's - "Life of Andrew Melville," Vol. I. p. 420.

Parliament instructed all bishops to avail themselves of the assistance of the Inquisitor in the detection and punishment of heresy.¹

That these measures, though doubtless keeping it in check, did not altogether suppress the movement is witnessed by the martyrdom of Paul Crawar in 1433² as well as by a further Act passed by the Parliament against schismatics³ in the year 1443.

The movement indeed evidently lingered on in Scotland till its absorption in the greater one of the Reformation, for Knox speaks of the trial of a batch of Ayrshire Lollards⁴ which took place in the year 1494.

The Condition
of the Mediaeval Church in
Scotland.

This spirit of revolt may rightly be said to have been engendered and kept alive by the flagrant corruption⁵ of the mediaeval Church, the character of whose clergy had, by the fifteenth century, become the everyday theme of ridicule or indignant protest.

A circular letter, sent in March 1425 by James I. to the /

-
1. Acta Parl. Scot. II., 7-8.
 2. See Scotichronicon XVI. 20 ff.
 3. Acta Parl. Scot. II., 33.
 4. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I., pp. 6-12. Appendix No. 2.
 5. See Robertson's - Concilia Scotiae, Vol. I. pp. cxl., clxxxvi - vii. - etc.
Bishop Dowden's - "Medieval Church," -Ch. XIX., p. 308.

the Abbots and Priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian Monasteries, clearly marks the fact that, even at that date, these institutions had lost their ancient character for holiness and zeal.¹

In the first half of the sixteenth century the evidence of continued declension in the Scottish Church becomes increasingly voluminous and proves beyond all doubt that a most deplorable state of affairs existed therein.

This is seen both from the official documents of the time² and from the writings of contemporary authors both Churchmen and laymen.³

Repeated attempts were made at reformation from within⁴ but these would appear to have been of very little effect /

1. Acta. Parl. Scot. II, 25, 26.

2. Statutes of the Scottish Church, pp. 89-92; 124.

3. Hector Boece (1465-1536) "History of Scotland," pub. 1527. Translated by John Bellenden, c. 1530.
John Major (1469-1550) "History of Greater Britain" I. 5.

Sir D. Lindsay (1490-1555) "Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis."

Ninian Winyit (1518-1592) "Certaine Tractatis" I. 2.

Quentin Kennedy (1520-1564) "Compendious Treatise."

John Leslie (Bishop of Ross) (1527-1596) "History of Scotland."

4. Bishop Trail's Synodal Statutes of St. Andrews;
Archbishop Forman's Work - Statuta cclxx; Appendix No. 3.

effect for Parliament found it necessary to pass a succession of Acts enjoining the people to stand fast in their allegiance and to abjure all forms of heretical teaching.¹

Lutheranism
in Scotland.

A powerful stimulus to reform, however, was coming from without, for the writings of Luther were finding their way into the country and, by the year 1525, these were so numerous and influential that an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting their importation under the most severe penalties attached to heresy.²

Patrick
Hamilton.

The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, three years later, bears striking testimony to the fact that those in authority were determined to go to any extreme rather than that the Act should remain a dead letter, but, as subsequent events showed, nothing did more to stimulate the interest of the Scottish people in the doctrines of the Reformed Church than did this outburst of persecuting zeal.

In the account which he gives us of Hamilton, Knox³ says - "When those cruell wolves had, as thei supposed, cleane devored the prey, thei fynd thame selfis in warse caise /

1. Acta. Parl. Scot. II. pp. 335, 341, 370.

2. Acta. Parl. Scot. II. 295; Appendix No. 4.

3. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 36.

caise then thei war befoir; for thei within Sanctandrose, yea, almost within the holl realme, (who heard of that fact), thair was none found who begone not to inquyre, whairfur was Maister Patrik Hamyltoun brunt?"

And again, he says that a certain gentleman, in conversation with Archbishop James Beaton, expressed his opinion as follows: - "My Lord, yf ye burne any mo, except ye follow my counsall, ye will utterlye destroy yourselves. If ye will burne thame, lett thame be brunt in how sellaries: for the reik of Maister Patrik Hamyltoun has infected as many as it blew upoun."¹

Influence of
the Religious
Ballads.

An effective contribution to the change was further made by the diffusion of religious ballads, especially by the productions of the Wedderburns² to whose credit has been placed the greater part of that collection known as the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" which appeared in 1542 or shortly thereafter.³

Some of these ballads are translations of Lutheran hymns, some are original, while others are renderings of old /

-
1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 42.
 2. For account of the Wedderburns see Maxwell's "Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation" pp. 132-149.
 3. "The Gude and Godlie Ballatis" - ed. A.F. Mitchell 1897, S.T. Soc.

old Scottish love-songs into the language of religion.

For the most part the rhyme is crude but the tone, as a rule, is marked by an intense earnestness and simplicity; the appeal to conscience being peculiarly direct and fervid.

When, as is not infrequently the case, the rapacity and immorality of the clergy form the theme, the denunciation is virile often to the point of coarseness.

The first printed edition of the Ballads appeared anonymously in 1567, but the earliest one of which a perfect copy is known to exist was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Smyth in 1600. There is, in addition, a later impression "at Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart 1621" from which the collection now best known by the title of the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" was reprinted in Dalrymple's "Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century."

Influence of
the Reformation
in England.

Moreover, the quarrel of Henry VIII. with Rome, culminating in the rejection of the Pope's authority in England, must likewise have exercised no inconsiderable influence /

influence in shaping the tendency of men's thoughts in the direction of reformation.

By the end of the reign of James V the situation had so far developed that the country was faced by the necessity of adopting one or other of two clearly defined alternative policies. Either she must adhere with all her strength to her ancient alliance with France and her allegiance to Rome, or she must sever these bonds, cultivate the friendship of her old enemy England, and, as a necessary consequence, adopt the new religion. Each of these alternatives had its able and zealous advocates and it is the resultant conflict between them that forms the political and religious background of the period with which we have to deal.

Early Protestant Martyrs in Scotland.

In the interval which elapsed between the death of Hamilton and the appearance of Wishart not a few in Scotland suffered on account of their faith, though little is now remembered of the majority beyond their names.¹

Their task it was to keep alive the flame of truth until such time as they could pass it on to a greater than themselves, and in the faithful performance of that duty they rendered incalculable service to their cause.

To the example which they set of steadfast devotion in /

1. For account of these see Knox pp. 56-58; 62-65.

in the face of danger and death Wishart must assuredly have owed a large measure of that inspiration which enabled him to bring so near to its perfection the work which they had begun.

Birth and
Parentage of
Wishart.

Of the early years of Wishart very little is known, and considerable diversity of opinion has arisen over the questions of his parentage and of the actual date of his birth.

As regards the latter, what evidence there is points to the year 1513, for a portrait of him, believed by competent judges to be genuine, bears the inscription - "1543, aetatis sua^e 30".

In his "Scottish Portraits," Caw points out that this picture agrees very closely with the description given of Wishart by Tylney.

The portrait has been retouched and, in several places, repainted, but the design, manner and colour are clearly Holbeinesque.

The date 1543 points to the fact that it was painted in the year Wishart was at Cambridge and, as Holbein was in England and did not die till near the end of that year, it is possible that he painted it himself.

At /

At the same time, its condition makes any attribution uncertain, and "painted in the style of Holbein" seems the most suitable description.

The only other portrait of any age, with pretensions to represent Wishart, is in the University of Glasgow, but it belongs to a series of made-up portraits, which were probably painted late in the following century.

The earliest notice which we have of Wishart is as attesting a Charter granted by Erskine of Dun at Montrose¹ on the 20th March, 1535, and it is reasonable to suppose that he would not thus have acted as a witness had he not been of at least legal age.

His appearance has a further interest for us in that it bears evidence of the fact that, at the time of sealing, Wishart was evidently a University graduate.

An attempt was made by Dr. Rogers in his "Life of George Wishart" to trace out the genealogical history of the family and his conclusion that George Wishart, the Martyr, was the son of Mr James Wishart of Pitarrow, the Justice Clerk, has been accepted by the majority of subsequent writers.

He appears to have erred, however, in regarding him as the /

1. Register of the Great Seal P. 323 No. 1462.

the only son by a second wife, for there is no evidence to prove that his father was married more than once.

Elizabeth Learmont, his reputed mother, is indeed clearly referred to as being also the mother of the eldest son and heir John,¹ who entered into possession of the estate in 1525.²

Dr. Hay Fleming, discussing this question in his article on George Wishart in the "Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews," pointed out exactly how Rogers came to make the mistake.

Another view, which has met with a certain amount of support, is that George was, not the son, but a younger brother of this James but, if that were the case, then he must have been born considerably prior to 1513, as James was Justice Clerk in that year.

It is noteworthy, moreover, that the latter's father, John Wishart, had handed over to him, very shortly before that time, the estates of Carnebeg and Pitarrow, evidently because he himself was becoming too old and feeble to look after them himself.³

In a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about George Wishart, the late Dr. Cramond of Cullers^N drew attention to a passage in /

1. Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1513 - 1546) 319.

2. Exchequer Rolls, Vol. XV. p. 628.

3. Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. (1424 - 1513) 3619, 3729.

in the dedication of a certain theological work which, re-
 ferring to the Martyr, says "..... et memoriam
 Georgii Sophocardi¹ patrui tui magni in scrinio pectoris
 recorde."

Dr. Cramond took the words "patrui tui magni" as
 meaning "your illustrious paternal uncle" and, according
 to this interpretation, the martyr must have been a great
 grand-son of the James, already mentioned, and a nephew of
 Sir John Wishart, the Comptroller.

To strengthen this view, he pointed out that the Sir
 John, who succeeded the latter, is known to have died in
 1607 after having attained "to a good age in good reputa-
 tion,"² and that consequently, if he was ninety years of
 age at his death, he must have been born in 1517 and might
 therefore have been a younger brother of the Martyr.

Apart altogether from the fact that this appears to
 involve a quite exaggerated view of what the writer meant
 by "a good age"; the more natural interpretation of the
 words "patrui tui magni" would be, not "your illustrious
 paternal uncle" but "your paternal grand-uncle," a reading
 which would make the Martyr out to have been the grand-son
 of the Justice-Clerk and a brother of the Comptroller.

The /

-
1. Dr. John Gordon's - "Assertiones Theologicae" - Rupellae
 1603, 8 vo.
 2. Scott's "Staggering State," Edinr. 1872, p. 111.

The fact that the latter is known to have had a brother George, usually referred to as "of Dryr¹ume," does not in itself disprove this possibility for, as not infrequently happened then, there may have been more than one George in the family, or it may even have been that the Martyr was a natural son.

It does seem somewhat curious however that Knox, who speaks a good deal about both the Martyr and the Comptroller, should have failed to mention such a close relationship, had it actually existed.

On the whole, it seems more reasonable to conclude that the words in question are not to be taken too literally but should be regarded as having been used in a somewhat loose sense.

Probably they are intended to refer to a great-grand-uncle, in which case we would be brought back to the popular view of the Martyr's parentage, but they may have been used in an even more general sense.

In his "History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk," Vol. I. p. 67, Fraser regarded Sir John the Comptroller as being the son of James, the Justice-Clerk.

The adoption of this view would have the very obvious advantage /

1. Calendar of Deeds VII., 169. Edinr. Reg. House.

advantage of reconciling the natural reading of the dedication passage with the generally accepted idea as to the Martyr's parentage but there are certain genealogical difficulties connected with it which we have not been able to overcome.

The dedication, at any rate, does go to show that the Martyr was of the house of Pitarrow and there are perfectly good grounds for regarding him as having been, either the son, or the grand-son of James, the Justice-Clerk.

His Early
Life and
Education.

The fact that his name does not appear in the registers of any of the Scottish Colleges has given rise to the idea that he must have received his education abroad, but tradition has persistently associated him with King's College, Aberdeen.

Fortunately, the elucidation of the truth in this particular instance does not appear to be of vital importance for, wherever educated, he undoubtedly fell, at an early age, under the influence of the Reformed doctrines.

That he was a University Graduate we have already seen and the fact is further evidenced by one of the few references which Bishop Leslie makes to him in his History as well as by Knox's constant ascription to him of the title "Maister."

Wishart -
a School-
master at
Montrose.

On the completion of his studies, he appears to have taken up the scholastic profession in the school founded at Montrose by /

-
1. Leslie's "History of Scotland" p. 191 (Scot. Text Society).

by Erskine of Dun in the year 1534, the authority for this statement being the Church Historian Petrie who declares that he heard it when young from "very ancient men."¹ From the same writer we learn that, while there, he was summoned by John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, to appear before his diocesan court on a charge of having spread abroad among his pupils certain imported copies of the Greek New Testament.

The times were dangerous and Wishart, evidently fully realising that fact, sought refuge in England.²

t Bristol
charged
with Heresy. The next we hear of him is as being in Bristol, where once again he fell into trouble as the result of a lecture which he gave in the Church of St. Nicholas on the 15th of May, 1539.

According to one writer, he had received orders as a "Reader" from Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, but this assertion cannot be substantiated as his name does not occur in the latter's register.³

In consequence of the tumult created by this sermon, the preacher was arrested and, in the following letter, the /

-
1. Petrie's "History of the Catholic Church" Pt. II, p. 182.
 2. In his "Rerum Scoticarum Historia," Buchanan says that in 1539 "many suspected of Lutheranism were seized; towards the end of Feb. five were burned, nine recanted, many were exiled." Cardinal David Beaton had become sole Archbishop of St. Andrews on the death of his uncle in February 1539. Petrie, in his "History of the Catholic Church" says that Wishart fled in the time of the persecution but gives the date as 1538 - p. 182.
 3. Rogers "Life of Wishart" p. 8.
 4. Demaus' "Hugh Latimer" p. 351 (foot-note).
Demaus objects only to the assertion that this appointment was made by Latimer. He states that Wishart actually was appointed lecturer in St. Nicholas' Church.

the Mayor of the town is seen seeking the advice of Lord Cromwell as to what line of action he should adopt toward the prisoner: -

"Pleaseth it your honourable Lordship to be advertised that certeyn accusations are made and had by Sir John Kerell¹ Deane of Bristowe, duputie of the Bishop of Worcester, our ordinary, and dyvers others, inhabitants of Bristowe foresaid, against one Geo. Wischarde, a Scottishman born, lately beying before your honourable Lordship; which accusations the said deane and other inhabitants aforesaid hath presented before me, the Mayor of Bristowe and justices of peace.

And the same accusations I have received, sendying the same unto your said honourable Lordship. And, furthermore, the Churchmen and the Deane of Bristowe shall sygnfy unto your honourable Lordship, the very truth in the premysses, unto whom we shall desyre you to give credence. And then our Lord preserve your honourable Lordship in helth and welth, according unto your own hartiest desire."

"At Bristowe the IX day of June, Anno Regis
Henrici VIII XXXI.

"Be /

1. The name of the Deane was Kearne.

"Be me Thomas Jeffryes, Mayor of Bristowe.

"To the Right Honourable Lord,
¹
 Lord Pryvy Seale."

The clergy of Bristol thereafter proceeded to draw up an indictment which they laid before an ecclesiastical court consisting of the Primate, Archbishop Cranmer; Clerk, Bishop of Bath; Repps, Bishop of Norwich; and Sampson, Bishop of Chichester. Brought before this Court, Wishart was induced to recant and was sentenced to bear a faggot in St. Nicholas Church, Bristol, on Sunday the 13th July, and in Christ Church of the same city, on the following Sunday.²

For our knowledge of the Charge that was brought against him at the time we are indebted to a contemporary record, belonging to the Corporation of Bristol, known as the Mayor's Calendar.³

A facsimile of the accusation, which runs as follows, was introduced by Dr Rogers into his "Life of George Wishart."⁴

"1639 /

-
1. H. XIV. I. 1095; See Appendix No. 5.
 From the original in the Public Record Office.
 2. Memoirs Historical and Biographical, Vol. II, p. 223.
 3. "The Maire of Bristowe is Kalender" by Robert Ricart - p. 55. (ed. L.T. Smith; printed for Camden Soc. XDCCCLXXII).
 4. Rogers "Life of George Wishart" pp. 11-12.

"1639 H. VIII. XXX. Mem.

"That this year the 15th of May, a Scott, named George
¹
 Wysard, sett furth in his lecture in St. Nicholas Church of
 Bristowe, the most blasphemous heresy that ever was heard:
 openly declaryng that Christ nother hathe nor could merite
 for him, ne yett for us: Which heresy brought many of the
 comons of this Towne into a grete error: and dyvers of theym
 were persuaded by that heretical lecture to heresy. Whereupon
 the said stiffneck'd Scott was accused by Mr. John Kerne, Dean
 of this Diocese of Worc(ester), and soone aft. he was sent to the
 moost Reverend ffather in God; the Archbishop of Canterbury,
 before whom and others, that is to signifie the Bissshops of
 Bathe, Norwhiche, and Chichastre w. others as Doctors, etc. And
 he before them was examined; convicted and condemned in and upon
 the detestable heresy above mentioned. Whereupon he was enjoyned
 to bere a ffaggott in S. Nicholas Churche forsaide, and the parishe
 of the same the Xiiijth day of July as foresaid: And in Christe
 Churche and parishe thereof the XXth day of July abovesaid. Which
 was duly executed in forme forsaide."

Unwilling to accept the view that Wishart had denied the
 saving merit of Christ's death, Dr. Rogers had recourse
 to a somewhat ingenious argument whereby the martyr's re-
 putation /

1 The use of the word "lecture" is significant as, upon the
 Reformation, Readers were required to promise that they
 would not preach or interpret, but only read that which
 was appointed by public authority.

reputation for orthodox Protestantism would appear to be vindicated by the postulation of an error on the part of an engrossing clerk.¹

His idea that Wishart's attack was in reality directed against the worship of the Virgin Mary would seem to have been occasioned, in the first instance, by one of the late Dr McCrie's transcribers who mistook the word "nother" for "mother" and thereafterwards added the word "not" in order to perfect the sense of the passage.

The sentence, as thus transcribed, then ran - "Christ's mother hathe not nor could merite for him, ne yett for us," and the probability is that Dr Rogers, acting on the suggestion therein conveyed as to the real object of attack, proceeded forthwith to elaborate his own particular theory.²

The passage, as it stands, is really perfectly intelligible, and there is no adequate ground for doubting that Wishart had actually fallen into error on the subject of the merits of Christ's death. The fact that he was condemned by Cranmer is in itself, indeed, fairly strong evidence against the charge having been such as Rogers suggests.

That /

1. Rogers "Life of George Wishart" pp. 11-12.

2. See Appendix No. 6.

That Wishart's retraction was the result of genuine conviction, however, and was not occasioned merely through fear of the consequences which a want of compliance might entail, cannot well be doubted, for the 1st Helvetic Confession, which he afterwards translated, and which may be regarded as embodying his own later views, emphasises in no unmistakable fashion the saving power of the Redeemer's death.

The view which is here adopted as to Wishart's conduct at this time serves, moreover, to show him in a much more favourable light than does the other, and its adoption would further appear to offer an explanation of Petrie's somewhat cryptic remark that, on his return to Scotland at a later date, he had "more knowledge of the truth" and "more zeall."¹

In his "History of Bristol," Seyer quotes three² letters dealing with certain religious disturbances that had broken out in that town a short time prior to the above-mentioned incident, and, though Wishart is not actually named in any of them, it has generally been thought that he was the preacher to whom they refer.

Though purporting to emanate from different sources, these letters are manifestly the handiwork of a single writer /

-
1. Petrie's "History of the Catholic Church" Vol. II, p. 182.
 2. H. XIV. 1. 184; Brit. Mus. Cotton MM.S. Cleopatra Ev. fol. 390.

writer, who availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to give vent to a quite surprising amount of personal rancour and coarse vituperation.

The fact that one of these letters is dated the 10th of January would help to bear out Petrie's statement as to the date of Wishart's departure from Scotland,¹ if it is to him that it refers; and it should also be noted that, in two of them, the preacher is constantly spoken of as the "Reader."

Greater weight, however, should doubtless be attached to the fact that the previously quoted letter, sent in June by the Mayor of Bristol to Cromwell, states that Wishart had appeared before the latter on a previous occasion, for it is well within the bounds of possibility that his appearance at that time was in connection with these very disturbances.

Wishart's So-
journ Abroad.

Following immediately on his recantation, Wishart left England where the famous "Act of the Six Articles" was on its way through Parliament, and proceeded to the Continent where he spent the next few years of his life.

It /

1. See Foot-note to p. 15.

It is probably to this sojourn abroad that Bishop Leslie refers when he says that "he remained long in Germany,"¹ though actually he differed from the majority of previous Scottish refugees by betaking himself to the headquarters of the Swiss Reformers.

At a later time, he spoke of having sailed down the Rhine and doubtless he would then visit such centres as Strassburg, Zurich and Basle, meet men like Bucer and Bullinger and be stimulated thereby to undertake the task of translating the 1st Helvetic Confession.

His Return
to England.

The actual date of his return to England has not been definitely ascertained, but that he was in residence at Cambridge in 1543 is evident from the following letter, sent later to Foxe, the Martyrologist, by one who had come under his influence there: -

Tylneys Letter.

"About the yeare of our Lord a thousand, five hundredreth, fortie and three, there was, in the Universitie of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a man of tall stature, polde headed, and on the same a French cap of the best. Judged of melancholye complexion by his physiognomie, blacke haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, /

1. Leslie's "History of Scotland," Edinbr. 1838, p. 191.

lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantell or frise gown to his shoes, a blacke Millian fustian doublet, and plaine blacke hosen, course new canvasse for his shirtes and white falling bandes and cuffes at the handes.

All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monethly, some quarterly as hee liked, saving his Frenche cappe which hee kept the whole yeare of my being with him. Hee was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse, for his charitie had never ende, nighte, morne nor daye, he forbare one meale in three, one day in foure for the most part, except something to comfort nature.

Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, course new canvasse sheets, which, when he change, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) hee used to bathe himselfe as I being very young, being assured often heard him, and in one light night discerned him; hee loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. Hee taught with great modestie and grauite so that some of his people thought him severe and would have slain him but the Lord was his defence.

And /

And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and hee went his way. O that the Lord had left him to mee his poore boy, that he might have finished that hee had begunne.¹

For in his religion hee was as you see heere in the rest of his life, when hee went into Scotland with divers of the nobilitie that came for a treaty to King Henry the eight. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire, always pressed and readie to do good in that he was able both in the house privately and in the schoole publickely professing and reading divers authors. If I should declare his love to mee and all men, his charitie to the poore, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

All this I testifie with my whole heart and trueth of this godly man.

Hee that made all, governeth all and shall judge all, knoweth I speake the truthe, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

Emery Tylney."²

Reason for his
Return.

When we recall the circumstances under which Wishart had left England a few years previously we are naturally tempted /

1. Foxes "Acts and Monuments" ed. 1877, p. 626.

2. See Appendix No. 10.

tempted to ask what induced him to return at this time.

It could scarcely have been on account of the circumstances having become more favourable to the prosecution of his work as a preacher of the reformed faith, for the Act of the Six Articles still remained actively in force and, if simple evangelical zeal had been the actuating motive, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have chosen his own land as the field of his labours for the conditions existing there at that time were, at least, no more unpropitious than they were in England.

An Act, passed in 1540 against Image breaking, shows, indeed, that the authorities in Scotland had been driven to desperation in their efforts to check the advancing tide of heresy, and it was further laid down that anyone giving information as to private meetings of heretics should share in the escheat of their goods, and should receive¹ pardon if heretics themselves.

In the opinion of a Papal legate, who visited the country three years later, "Scotland, but for the intervention of God, would soon be in as bad a case as England itself,"² /

1. Acta. Parl. Scot. II, 371.
(H. VIII, XVIII (2) 299.

2. ("Mary Stuart: A Narrative of the First Eighteen Years
of Her Reign." Rev. Joseph Stevenson S.J. p. 51.

itself," while an official utterance of the Governor, the same year, declared that heretics increased rapidly and spread opinions contrary to the Church.¹

It would appear, therefore, that, if we are to find any answer to our query, we must look for it elsewhere and the thought occurs to us that we may be able to find a solution in the momentous events which were taking place at the time in the world of international politics.

The reader of history will remember that on the 14th of December, 1542, James V. of Scotland passed away, crushed by the weight of the disaster which had overtaken his army at Solway Moss.

Numerous and influential Scottish prisoners had fallen into the hands of the English as a result of this rout and, before obtaining their freedom, each and all of them had been bound by solemn pledges to further English interests in Scotland on their return.²

These interests, as Henry VIII conceived them, consisted in the bringing to pass of a marriage between his son Edward and the young Queen of Scots and in the overthrow of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland whose policy /

1. Acta Parl. Scot II, 443.

2. Hamilton Papers I, 361 ff.

policy it was to maintain the ancient alliance with France.

Here evidently was an opportunity not to be missed by any who felt that he had an interest in such aims and the latter one, at any rate, must have made strong appeal to Wishart.

The probability therefore is that he returned to England bent on doing whatever lay in his power to further this policy and, while his known attitude would secure for him protection in what would otherwise have been most dangerous surroundings, opportunity would also be afforded him of entering into direct relationship with the "assured Scots" if, indeed, he were not already known personally to certain of them.

Date of his
Return to
Scotland.

Of the many disputed points in Wishart's career none has evoked greater diversity of opinion and ingenuity of argument than that of the date of his return to Scotland.

Tylney's
Evidence.

The authorities on the point are two - Knox and Tylney - or, if we reject the latter as failing to furnish any definite evidence, one only.

It is worth noting, however, that Tylney's letter points to the fact that Wishart spent at least a year in Cambridge at the time to which it refers and that, consequently, he could not have returned to Scotland in July 1543 unless he had arrived back in England at a much earlier /

earlier date than has usually been supposed.

Knox's
Statement.

It is over the statement of Knox, however, that dispute has waxed most keen and a careful examination of it must therefore be made.

In his "History of the Reformation in Scotland," he introduces Wishart to his readers in the following words: -

"In the myddest of all the calamities that came upon the realme after the defectionn of the Governour from Christ Jesus, came in Scotland that blessed martyre of God Maister George Wisharte, in company of the Commissionaris befoir mentionat, in the year of God 1544 a man of such grace as befoir him war never hard within the realme, yea, and are rare to be found yit in any man nocht withstanding this great ligg¹ht of God that sence his dayis has schyned unto us."

It should be noticed that this statement affords us four distinct points of time: -

- (a) His arrival was subsequent to the defection of the Governor.
- (b) It took place in the midst of the calamities that followed thereafter.
- (c) He came in company with certain Commissioners already mentioned.
- (d) The actual date of his arrival was 1544.

1. Knox's History ed. 1846 Vol. I, p. 125.

When we proceed to examine these statements in turn we find that:-

- (a) As regards the first, we know that, though his actual breach with the English party in Scotland did not occur until September 1543, the conduct of Arran, the Governor, had, for months previously, been singularly vacillating.

As early as April 22nd of that year, Sadler, the English Ambassador, wrote to Henry VIII saying that the Governor was altering towards him and was showing signs of going over to the Cardinal's party.¹

The following month Arran wrote to the Pope assuring him of his zeal for the Holy Apostolic See and, at the same time, he informed Sadler that he hated Beaton with his whole heart and had determined "to reform the abuses of the Church and advance God's Word and doctrine."²³

In /

-
1. H. XVIII, No. 448; Sadler Papers I, 158.
 2. "Archbishops of St. Andrews," Vol. IV, p. 112.
= Herkless and Hannay.
 3. Theiner p. 614; "The Archbishops of St. Andrews," Vol. 4, p. 112.

In July, Beaton had the "Child" in his keeping and, in August, Sadler wrote that the Governor had revolted to the Cardinal "and very friendly entrainings were betwixt them."

Beaton's complete triumph was not long delayed thereafter for, in September, he had the satisfaction of leading Arran into the Franciscan chapel at Stirling, hearing¹ his recantation, and granting him absolution.

- (b) This defection was followed by an English invasion² of Scotland in May 1544 and by the arrival of assistance from France in February 1545 and again, in³ May or June of the same year, when Captain de Lorge⁴ Montgomery arrived with about 3,500 men.
- (c) The only Commissioners, to whom Knox had already referred, were those who had been sent to England in March 1543 to arrange a treaty of marriage between Prince /

1. H. XVIII, II, 128, 132; Hamilton Papers II, 11, 13; Sadler Papers I, 282.
2. H. XIX, I, 314, 319, 366; Ham. Pap. II, 207, 209, 220.
3. H. XX, II, 202.
4. H. XX, I, 834; Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents - p. 38; Acta. Parl. Scot, II, pp. 594-6; Knox's History, p. 123.

Prince Edward and the infant Queen Mary.¹

Two treaties were drawn up and signed at Greenwich² on the 1st of July 1543 and the Commissioners returned³ to Scotland towards the end of the same month.

Of these four, it will be seen that the third is at variance with the others pointing, as it apparently does, to an earlier date than is compatible with them.

Under such circumstances one would be inclined to expect that the consensus of opinion would be in favour of the rejection of the isolated point, if it were found impossible to reconcile it with the other three, but such has not proved to be the case.

Many writers have preferred to take the view that it is to this third point alone that we must trust if we are to obtain any reliable information on the question, and they accordingly agree in regarding Knox's definite ascription of the event to the year 1544 as simply an error on /

-
1. Sadler Papers, Vol. I, pp. 59-63, 83, 90; Leslie's "History of Scotland", p. 172.
 2. Rymer's Foedera Vol. XIV, pp. 786-791; Acta Parl. Scot. 11, p. 425-6; Sadlers Papers, Vol. I, p. 270; See also Appendix No. 7.
 3. Same as above and Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents p. 27.

on his part.

The supplementary evidence in support of that date they entirely ignore.

In addition to the assertion that it is apparently to the Commissioners of 1543 that Knox refers, it is argued that the circumstances then existing in Scotland were much more favourable to Wishart's return at that time than at any subsequent date.

Argument in fa-
vour of a Re-
turn in 1544.

In reply to these arguments we would point out, in the first place, that it is but reasonable to assume that Knox received his information as to the date of his return directly from Wishart himself: probably towards the close of 1545 when he was in close association with him.

What Wishart doubtless did tell him then was that he returned with the Commissioners in 1544, for it is an established fact that Commissioners did return, in that year as well as in the previous one.¹

Who these Commissioners actually were Wishart probably did not tell Knox and the latter, writing his History several years after the events which he describes had /

1. State Papers of Henry VIII, XIX, 1, 243, 337, 522 779; Hamilton Papers, II, 214; Rymers Foedera Vol. XV, p. 19 and pp. 22, 26; Leslie's "History of Scotland," p. 178. Appendix No. 9.

had happened, naturally associated them in his mind with those men whom he did know to have acted in that capacity, but the actual date of whose return he either did not know or had for the moment forgotten.¹

The strong point of this argument lies in the fact that it has the obvious merit of reconciling the four points of time with which Knox's statement provides us, instead of ignoring certain of them as the other is forced to do. It is, moreover, but reasonable to suppose that Knox would more readily forget the actual date of the Commissioners' return than he would that of Wishart's - an event in which he must have been much more vitally interested.

When we turn next to the consideration of the second point adduced in favour of the earlier date - that of the alleged suitability of the time - we find that it is based on the fact that in July 1543 the Regent Arran was still, openly at least, a staunch supporter of the Protestant party in Scotland.

The work accomplished by a Parliament held at Edinburgh in March 1541² had been to a large extent annulled by the measures passed two years later, whereby permission was /

2. Acta Parl. Scot., Vol. II, p. 370.

1. If any names were mentioned, Glencairn's would certainly be, and the fact that he had taken part in the official negotiations of the previous year, would readily lead to confusion.

was given for the use of translations of the Scriptures¹
into the vulgar tongue.

"This was no small victorie of Christ Jesus," says Knox, "Then mycht have bene sein the Byble lying almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table." And again, "Yett thair-
by did the knowledge of God wonderoslie increase and God²
geve his Holy Spreit to sempill men in great abundance."

The Governor had further testified to his zeal in the Protestant cause by the appointment of Thomas Williams³ and John Rough as Chaplains to his household while, at the same time, he had desired Sadler, the English Ambassador, to write to England for some bibles in the vernacular and for the Statutes and injunctions made there by Henry for the reformation of the Clergy and the extirpation of⁴
the Bishop of Rome's authority.

Such facts as these do indeed go to show that the time seemed suitable for Wishart's return, but, assuming for the moment that such a circumstance would exercise a decisive influence over his movements, it is worthy of note /

1. Acta. Parl. Scot. Vol. II, p. 415; Appendix No. 8.

2. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, pp. 100-1.

3. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 96;
H. XVIII, I, 448; Sad. Papers I, 158.

4. H. XVIII, I, 324, 364, 391; Ham. Papers, No. 348;
Sad. Papers I, 127.

note that the earlier part of the year 1544 was not without a similar attraction.

The enthusiasm of the Governor for the Protestant cause was short lived, for, as we have already seen, he went finally over to Beaton's party in September and, from that time onwards, was but a tool in the hands of his quondam enemy.

The results of Beaton's accession to power were at once evident, for a Parliament, which met at Edinburgh in December, annulled the marriage contract which had been entered into with England, renewed the old alliance with France, and passed stringent laws against heresy.¹

Early in the following year Henry demanded a ratification of the Treaties by Arran and Beaton and, on their failure to comply, gave instructions to Hertford to prepare for the invasion of the country.²

The English army landed at Leith early in May³ and, after beating off a very feeble attack by the Scots under the Governor and Beaton, took Edinburgh and began to lay waste /

1. Acta Parl. Scot. Vol. II, p. 443; Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 29.

2. H. XIX, 1, 314, 319; Hamilton Papers II, 207, 209.

3. H. XIX, 1, 472, 483; 510, Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 31; Hamilton Papers, II, 233.

waste the neighbouring country.

Thus sorely beset by the invaders, and further enfeebled by the traitorous conduct of the "assured Scots,"¹ the position of the country was desperate.

At this juncture an attempt was engineered by Sir George Douglas to depose Arran, on the grounds that he had brought about the English invasion by acting on the advice of the Cardinal, and to set up the Queen Dowager in his place, and his scheme was supported by many of the most prominent clergy in the country, as well as by the majority of the nobility both "assured" and otherwise.

Beaton, who was thus hard pressed, wrote to Rome that the Kingdom was "affected" and that he himself was exposed to incessant toil and danger.

That the attempt failed does not at present concern us; our interest lies in the fact that such an alliance of all shades of opinion was in existence at this particular time, for it was precisely at this juncture that, according to the view here advanced, Wishart returned to Scotland.

Surely no time could well have been more propitious, if that consideration is to be taken into account, for the country /

1. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 32; Ham. Pap, II, 214; H. XIX. I, 243, 337, 472, 522.
2. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 33; Ham. Pap. II, 264, H. XIX, I, 664, 673, 706.

country then lay at the mercy of the English invaders and opposition to the policy, represented by Arran and Beaton, was at its height.

Finally, in this connection, it has been argued that it is exceedingly improbable that Wishart would have travelled to Carlisle in order to join the Commissioners of 1544 there, for the business upon which they were engaged was of a more or less private nature and the chances were therefore very much against his knowing anything about¹ their proceedings.

For those who hold that Wishart had no concern with, or knowledge of, the political events of the time, such an argument is indeed difficult to refute but, as we have already indicated, the view here taken is that such could not² really have been the case.

Those writers who maintain that Wishart returned in July 1543, and are yet disinclined to believe that he took any part in the political events of the time, evidently find it very difficult to account for his movements between that date and the time when we have the first really well authenticated mention of his being in Scotland.

The theory that he devoted himself during the whole of that comparatively long period to the study of theology and /

1. See Appendix No. 9.

2. See page 27.

and the cultivation of the arts at Pitarrow is incredible when we call to mind the fact that he is known to have complained bitterly when circumstances rendered it advisable for him to lie in hiding for a few days at Leith.

"What differ I from a dead man," he then said, "except that I eat and drynk? To this tyme God hes used my labouris to the instructi^onn of otheris, and unto the disclosing of darknes; and now I lurk as a man that war es-chamed and durst not schaw him self befoir men."¹

The majority, however, who accept the earlier date are not faced with this difficulty to quite the same extent, for they profess to be able to give a feasible explanation of how at least a part of that time was spent by him.

Brunston's
Letter to Henry
VIII. Who was
the Bearer?

Attention has been drawn by them to the fact that, during the time that Hertford was at Newcastle, preparing for his invasion of Scotland, a messenger arrived there from a certain Crichton of Brunston bearing letters which contained a proposal for the murder or apprehension of the Cardinal. This messenger, the English Commander sent on to Henry himself, after he had provided him with the fol-²lowing letter of introduction:-

"Please /

1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. 1, p. 134.

2. State Papers Henry VIII, XIX, I, 350; Ham. Pap. 11, 218.

"Please it your Highness to understand that this day arrived here with me, the Earl of Hertford, a Scottish man called Wysshert and brought me a letter from the Laird of Brunston which I send your Highness herewith. And, according to his request, have taken order for the repair of the said Wysshart to your Majesty by post, both for the delivery of such letters as he hath to your M. from the said Brunston and also for the declaration of his credence, which (as I can perceive by him) consisteth in two points; one is that the Laird of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland; the Master of Rothes, the Earl of Rothes eldest son, and John Charteris, would attempt either to apprehend or slay the Cardinal at some time when he shall pass through the Fyfe land, as he doth sundry times to St. Andrews; and in case they can so apprehend him, will deliver him into your M., which attempt, he saith, they would enterprise, if they knew your M's pleasure therein, and what supportation and maintenance your M. would minister unto them after the execution of the same, in case they should be pursued afterwards by any of their enemies.

The other is that, in case your M. should grant unto them a convenient entertainment for to keep 1000 or 1500 men in wages for a month or two, they, joining with the power of the Earl Marischal, the said Master of Rothes, the Laird /

Laird of Calder and others of the Lord Grey's friends, will take upon them, at such time as your M's army shall be in Scotland to destroy the Abbey and town of Arbroath, being the Cardinal's and all the other Bishops' and Abbots' houses and countries on that side the water thereabouts, and to apprehend all those which they say be the principal impugnators of the amity between England and Scotland; for the which they shall have a good opportunity, as they say, when the power of the said Bishops and Abbots shall resort towards Edinburgh to resist your M's army. And for the execution of these things, the said Wisher saith that the Earl Marischal and others afore named will capitulate with your M. in writing under their hands and seals, afore they shall desire any supply or aid of money at your M's hands.

This is the effect of his credence, with other sundry advertisements of the great contention and division that is at this present within the realm of Scotland, which we doubt not he will deliver unto your M. at good length." (Dated Newcastle 17th April, 1544.)

In reply to this communication the King stated that he would be prepared to protect the conspirators in the event of their having to take refuge in England.

As to the second point, he asserted that there was not /

not sufficient time to arrange for their co-operation with his army in Scotland as it would probably be on its way home again before this could be done.

He would however give the £1000 sterling if they carried out their design effectively and gave Hertford¹ hostages answering for their good faith in the matter.

Was it the
Martyr?

Taking as their basic fact the name of the bearer as mentioned in this letter, a large number of writers have attempted to build up a theory which would serve to demonstrate his identity with George Wishart, the martyr, but a more feebly supported charge was probably never brought against any man.

We cannot however ignore it entirely, for, though we have taken May 1544 as being the date of his final return to Scotland, that obviously does not of itself preclude the possibility of his having been there also at an earlier date. So far indeed as the dates themselves go, they might actually be regarded as favouring the presumption of his having been the bearer of the letter, for we know that the Privy Council's reply to Hertford was dispatched by the same messenger on the 26th of April and it might be argued that, having accomplished his mission, he thereafter joined the Commissioners at Carlisle and returned /

1. Haynes State papers, Lond. 1740, folio p. 32.

returned to Scotland under their protection in May.

Little or no use, however, appears to have been made of this possibility by those who have endeavoured to prove Wishart's complicity in the matter; useful though it would be to them in dealing with Knox's statement as to the date of his return.

As a matter of fact we find that their arguments are, almost without exception, based solely on the recorded name of the bearer and on an alleged intimacy with the promoters of the plot.

Obviously it is unjust to regard the name, considered in itself alone, as affording evidence against him, for, to do so, is equivalent to asserting that he was the only Wishart, alive at that time, who was capable of acting as the messenger.

At most it should only be taken as pointing to the necessity for further investigation and, if no supplementary evidence can be adduced, the charge should be forthwith abandoned.

Those writers who profess to act on this principle and thereafter bring in a verdict of "guilty" point, as a rule, to what they assert is evidence of his intimacy with those known to have been in the conspiracy.

For example, Tytler, in his "History of Scotland" speaks /

speaks of Brunston as being Wishart's "great friend and protector" in 1543, but he entirely fails to prove that Wishart had any dealings whatever with Brunston until the end of 1545.¹

Again, the Church historian, Cunningham, says: -

"It is just possible that the Wishart mentioned in the Earl of Hertford's letter may not have been the martyr, but his close intimacy, at that time, with every one of the conspirators leads one to suspect that it was.² But again, there is no evidence in support of the statement offered to the reader.

Burton goes still further when he asserts that - "removing him from that group breaks it up almost more than the removal of any other - of Leslie, Ormiston or Brunston³ - but once more we look in vain for proof of such an assertion!

A careful investigation, indeed, leads one to the conclusion that absolutely nothing that can bear critical examination has been brought forward in support of the charge⁴ and one of its most zealous and able advocates admits /

1. Tytler's "History of Scotland" Vol. 5, pp. 342-3.
2. Cunningham - "Church History of Scotland" Vol. I, p. 251.
3. Burton - "History of Scotland" Vol. III, p. 466.
4. Roman historians of the Scottish Church, while asserting Wishart's guilt, tender no evidence - Bellenden II, 173; Walsh "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland" - p. 264.

admits this when he acknowledges that there is no sufficient case with which to go before a jury.¹

It is, moreover, surely a highly significant fact that in Sadler's correspondence of 1543, which deals with the intrigues of Angus, Cassillis, Sir George Douglas, and other leaders of the English party in Scotland, Wishart is never once mentioned!

It has been further asserted that we cannot with fairness argue from modern ethical ideas, but surely, even if we admit that, it does not affect the validity of a judgment based upon ascertained personal character, and a strong argument in favour of Wishart's innocence can be deduced therefrom.

Knox tells us that, during his visit to the West country, he strongly deprecated strife and possible bloodshed on more than one occasion and, in addition to this, we have the well authenticated story of how he saved the life of his would-be murderer in Dundee, when the angry mob would have wreaked its vengeance upon him.²

Possible Bearers of the Letter.

Burton was of opinion that the messenger could not be identified, and that it was best he should remain unknown; but various efforts have been made to solve the problem /

-
1. Lang - Article in Blackwood's Magazine for March, 1898.
 2. It should also be kept in mind that Wishart was at the horn and therefore would be a very unsuitable Messenger.

problem and two of these, at least, are worthy of mention.

The first, advanced by Rogers,¹ is to the effect that the bearer of the letter was John Wishart, afterwards Sir John, the Comptroller, and the account which he gives of his career certainly points to him as being a very probable messenger. This John Wishart, he says, was probably a trained lawyer for he afterwards became a judge in the Supreme Court, and, if he received his training in Edinburgh, he would doubtless have many opportunities of meeting there with those who were engaged in plotting against the Cardinal.

An enthusiastic upholder of Protestant doctrine, he was one of those who sat in Parliament when the Reformed Church was recognised and, as an adherent of the Regent Murray, he was granted lands and a title.

Like many of his contemporaries, however, he lacked consistency for, in 1573, he proved untrue to the Protestant cause by going over to the side of Kirkaldy of Grange who was attempting to hold Edinburgh Castle on behalf of the dethroned queen. In his capacity of Comptroller and Collector-General of Thirds, he had been paymaster of the Reformed /

1. Rogers - "Life of George Wishart" - pp. 57-58.

Reformed clergy and his conduct at that time had proved¹ to be by no means above suspicion.

The second theory, suggested by Maxwell, in his "History of Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation," attempts to fix the responsibility on George Wishart, a younger² son of James Wishart the Justice-Clerk.

According to his account, this George Wishart was charged, several years after the event, with having given assistance to the murderers of Beaton and with having aided and abetted them in their treason and crime of lese-majesty.

"Although there is no evidence to specially identify this Wishart as the promoter of the plot against Beaton," he continues, "he certainly had allied himself with those unquiet spirits who from time to time were engaged in it."

Probably the best that can be said of these theories is that they are both much more reasonable than is the one which attempts to inculcate the martyr.

Of positive proof there is, of course, none, but fortunately there is no reason to regard the martyr's innocence as being dependent upon the successful inculcation /

1. Knox's History, Vol. II, pp. 310, 311.

2. Maxwell evidently held that the martyr was a brother of James the Justice-Clerk.

inculcation of another.

Religious
riots at Dun-
dee in 1543.

We pass now to the consideration of a second allegation which is commonly brought against Wishart by those who assert that he returned to Scotland in the year 1543.

Sometime during that year, and probably in August, serious religious riots broke out in Dundee resulting, they maintain, from the influence exercised by Wishart's preaching there.

Although our assumption that Wishart did not return to England till the beginning of 1543, when taken in conjunction with Tylney's indication as to the duration of his stay at Cambridge, definitely rules out the possibility of his having been in Dundee at this time, we may none the less enquire into the grounds upon which the assertion is made.

We find, in the first place, that it is not without its chronological difficulties even for its own advocates for, as one writer has pointed out, Wishart's preaching must have been exceedingly affective to have produced such a result in a little over a month's time.

Maxwell /

1. The Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 29, gives the date as October 7th and says - "In this tyme thair war ane great heresie in Dundee; their they destroyit the kirkis and would have destroyit Abirbrothok Kirk war not the Lord Ogilbie"; H. XVIII, II, 128, Hamilton Papers 11, 15, 20, and 11, 20 give the date as August. Lindores Abbey was sacked at this time.
The Diurnal probably refers to the retribution; See also Sc. Hist. Review, XI, 21 and H. XVIII (2) 425.
2. See Article by Dr. Hay Fleming in the Contemporary Review for 1898.

Maxwell gives an interesting account of these riots and definitely connects Wishart with them, but he offers no proof whatever in support of his contention.

He points out that the damage inflicted at that time was not really so serious as has been asserted, for the buildings themselves were not destroyed but only the decorations and images.

The indictment, which was not preferred against the participants until 1552, states that "on the last day of August 1543," the burgesses had been "art and part in the oppression committed on the Friars, Preachers and Ministers of Dundee by coming to their places within the burgh with convocation of the Queen's lieges in great number, armed in warlike manner, and there breaking up the doors and gates of the places, and breaking and destroying the ornaments, vestments, images and candlesticks, carrying off the silvering of the altars and stealing the bed-clothes etc., victuals, meal, malt, flesh, fish, coals, napery, pewterplates, tin stamps, etc., which were in keeping of the said place."¹

A really strong argument can, moreover, be deduced from the fact that no such charge of incitement or participation was brought against Wishart at the time of his trial /

1. Maxwell's "Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation" p. 83. M.S. in Dundee Burgh Archives - Appendix B.

trial and it seems inconceivable that such would have been the case had there been even the slightest grounds upon which to base it.

In this connection we may further note that, either towards the end of 1543 or very early in the following year, the Cardinal and Governor conducted a vigorous crusade against heretics in that part of the country and, if Wishart had been there, he would, most likely, have fallen¹ into their hands.

Beginning of
Wishart's Work
in Scotland.

From the evidence at present available it does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the commencement of Wishart's evangelical work in the country, though Knox's statement would seem to point to the fact that he started to preach in Montrose shortly after his return and that he thereafter removed to Dundee, where he publicly read² and expounded the Epistle to the Romans.

His selection of this particular epistle is significant /

1. Sadler's correspondence of 1543, Vol. I, p. 341, says that this took place towards the end of the year.

The Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents says:- "Upoun the XXVIIIIday of Januare the governour with his lordis past to Sanctiohnftoun and Dundie and brunt many lymmeris in the said tolbuiss."

Knox - Hist., ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 117 gives the date as the 25th of January.

2. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 125; Petrie's History, Hague 1662, folio p. 182.

significant in view of the immense importance attached to it by the early theologians of the Reformed faith; and his use of it brings his teaching into direct line with theirs on the then highly controversial subject of "Justification."

Wishart's Work
in Montrose and
Dundee.

Both in Montrose and in Dundee he formed "kirks" or congregations, the former probably consisting, for the main part, of the lesser gentry in the adjacent district of Angus and Mearns, and the latter of the substantial burghers of the town.

The New Testament of Tyndale's translation had been introduced as early as 1526 and, by Wishart's time, subsequent editions had been largely imported; while, as we have seen, freedom to read them openly had been granted by the Act of 1543.

We have also already drawn attention to the fact that a rudimentary collection of Psalms or Spiritual Songs was¹ probably in use by this time and it is highly probable that an initial catechism had been drawn up though the² earliest editions of it have perished.

The translation of the 1st Helvetic Confession, which Wishart had undertaken during his sojourn abroad, was doubtless used as the Confession of these Churches though, at /

-
1. "The Goode and Godlie Ballatis" - See p.6.
 2. Knox speaks of using a Catechism during the course of his work at St. Andrews.

at this early time, it was probably still in manuscript, the first date of publishing, so far as is known, being 1548.

Moreover that fragment of the Communion Office, which was used by Knox in the administration of the Lord's Supper at Berwick in 1550, and perhaps had been used by him at St. Andrews in 1547, was almost certainly derived from Wishart, for part of it is translated from the Office of the Church of Zurich with which he could not fail to have become acquainted during his residence there.¹

A similar claim has been advanced in the case of an interesting burial service which purports to have been used in the Church at Montrose, but there is considerable difficulty in substantiating it.²

Extremely little is known for certain of these early stages and, so far as organization was concerned, probably little or nothing was done on principle or after any agreed method. As Knox said - "The little flock began to set itself in order" and congregations sprung up with ministers who came by invitation and Church discipline gradually began to emerge.

Wishart's /

-
1. Mitchell - "Gude and Godlie Ballatis," Appendix II, p. cvii - ff.
 2. "Miscellany of the Woodrow Society," pp. 291-8.



Wishart's stay in Dundee at this time would appear to have extended over the greater part of a year for, according to Knox, he left the town just four days before the outbreak of the plague which apparently swept over the country during the August of 1545.¹

His departure followed as the result of an order calling upon him to desist from preaching. The inhibition, procured from the Governor at the instigation of the Church Authorities, was delivered to him by one Robert Mill, a Magistrate of the town, while he was in the act of conducting divine service.²

"He mused," Knox tells us, "a pretty space with his eis bent into the heavin and thereafter looking sorrowfullie to the speaker and unto the people, he said, 'God is witness that I never mynded your truble but your comforte. Yea, your truble is more dolorous unto me then it is unto your selves.

But I am assured that to refuse Goddis word and to chase from you his messinger, shall not preserve you from truble; and it shall bring you into it. For God shall send /

1. The Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents for August 1545 says, p. 39: -
In this tyme the pest was wonder greit in all burrowis townis of this realme, quhair mony peipill diet with greit skant and want of victuallis."
2. Knox tells us that Mill had been in trouble and it is possible that he had been concerned in the religious disturbances of 1543 Cf H XVIII (2) 425.

send unto you messingeris who will not be effrayed of
hornyng nor yitt for banishment. I have offered to you
the woorde of salvation and with the hasarde of my lyef
I have remaned amanges you.

Now ye your selves refuse me, and tharefoir man I
leave my innocencye to be declared by my God. Iff it be
long prosperus with you I am nott ledd with the Spreitt
of treuth. But and iff truble unlooked for apprehend you
acknowledge the caus and turne to God for he is mercifull.
But iff ye turne not at the first, he shall viseitt you
with fyre and sword.¹"

Among those present when Mill served the inhibition
was the Earl Marischal who entreated the preacher either
to disregard it or to accompany him to the North and there
prosecute his ministry.

Wishart's
Visit to
Ayrshire.

But Wishart had promised the Earl of Glencairn that
he would next preach in Ayrshire and he proceeded thither
at once.

That he should have desired to extend his labours to
that part of the country was in itself perfectly natural,
for Ayrshire had for long been the home of those most
keenly opposed to the Roman Church and he must therefore
have /

1. Knox ed. 1846, Vol. I, p.126.

have regarded it as affording a fruitful field for his labours.

As we have already seen, the Lollard movement had succeeded in maintaining a hold on that part of the country right down to the time when it became absorbed in the larger movement of the Reformation, and, in the early years of the sixteenth century, it had made a noteworthy contribution to the religious literature of the time in the shape of a New Testament in Scots based on Purvey's Revision of Wyclif's version.¹

The New Testament in Scots.

The author, a certain Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill in Ayrshire, had apparently fallen under the influence of Lollardism some time prior to the year 1500 and, on the outbreak of persecution in the early years of James V, he had fled abroad taking his New Testament with him.

Although it is not possible to assign an exact date to the completion of his work, it may safely be reckoned as prior to 1522 for, in that year, Luther's version appeared and it is exceedingly unlikely that the author would have continued with it thereafter.

Moreover, in 1525, Tyndale's version began to penetrate into the country, and Nisbet's work, based as it was on /

1. "Introduction to the New Testament in Scots," S.T.S. 1901, ed. T.G. Law.

on the Vulgate, would thereby be rendered obsolete.

This visit of Wishart to the south, however, has been taken as affording a still further opportunity for connecting him with the least reputable side of the political¹ scheming of the time.

It appears that in May 1545 the Earl of Cassillis, who had previously been engaged in trying to further the interests of Henry VIII in Scotland, brought forward a² proposal for the murder of the Cardinal, and the suggestion made by Lang is that Wishart's visit to Ayrshire was directly connected with this scheme.

The actual dates, however, do not lend their support to such an idea, for the plot was evidently under consideration at least three months before Wishart's arrival and, in the rather improbable event of his knowing anything at all about it, it is more reasonable to assume that he discouraged it rather than that he lent it his assistance, for the scheme itself was finally abandoned by its author.

There is indeed no evidence to show that there was any /

1. See Lang's Article in Blackwood's Magazine for March 1898.

2. H. XX, I, 834.

It also appears that in the July of the same year Brunston again came forward with a proposal for the murder of Beaton but, though the correspondence went on till the autumn, nothing came of it.
Cf H XX, I, 1177, 1178.

any connection between the two at this particular time. Knox makes no reference to Cassillis as having been among Wishart's protectors in Ayrshire, though he does mention quite a number of others who acted as such, and the first occasion on which we hear of a relationship existing between them is in connection with the latter's visit to the Lothians later in the year.

The visit to Ayrshire must have been of very short duration, though Knox has devoted considerable space to it in the account which he has given us of Wishart.

He tells us that Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, at the instigation of Beaton, took armed possession of the church in Ayr in order to prevent Wishart from preaching therein and that the latter's followers, headed by the Earl of Glencairn, were prepared to contest this seizure by force.

Wishart himself, however, strongly deprecated violence and invited those who wished to hear him preach to attend an open-air service at the Market Cross.

There "he made so notable a sermon that his very enemies themselves were confounded" while the Archbishop, who attempted to deliver an address in the Parish Church, was listened to by only "a few old bosses of the toun."

The sum of his sermon was - "Thei say that we shuld preach, why nott? Better late thrive than never thrive; had /

had us still for your Bishop, and we shall provide better for the next tyme" - a promise which, however, he apparently failed to keep!

From Ayr Wishart proceeded to Galston where he preached on more than one occasion in the Parish Church, under the protection of John Lockhart of Barr, a Protestant land-holder in the district.

Being invited thereafter to preach at Mauchline, an adjoining parish, he consented to do so, but opposition to him was stirred up by Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, on the ground that the Church there contained an elegant shrine which might be injured or destroyed if the people became excited as a result of his discourse.

Again there was like to be strife between the rival factions, for the Church was held against him by George Campbell of Mongarswood, Mungo Campbell of Brounsyde, George Reid in Daldilling, the Laird of Tempilland and others; while a certain Hew Campbell of Kinyeancleugh was determined that an entrance should be forced for the preacher.

Wishart once more, however, intervened to arrest blood-shed and succeeded in persuading his vehement supporter that he could preach as effectively outside as inside a Church.¹

"Brother," /

1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 127.

"Brother," said he, "Christ Jesus is as potent in the fields as in the Kirk."

"He himself oftener preached on the mountain, in the desert and at the sea-side, than in the temple of Jerusalem. God sends by me the word of Peace and the blood of no man must be shed this day for the preaching of it."

And, so saying, he withdrew the people and, coming to a dyke-side by the moors, towards the south-west side of Mauchline, he preached to them therefrom for the space of more than three hours.

As a result of that sermon, one of the most wicked men in that part of the country - Lawrence Rankin, laird of Sheill - was converted and remained an ardent supporter of the Reformation till the day of his death.

Wishart's
Return
to Dundee.

His work in the west was brought to an end by the reception of an urgent entreaty to return to Dundee where the plague had broken out with great violence immediately
1
after his departure.

His friends were very loth to let him go but, to their entreaties that he should remain among them, he replied that the people of Dundee were in sore trouble and needed /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 129; "Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents" p. 39.

needed comfort.

Perhaps the hand of God, he said, will cause them now to revere that word which formerly, through fear of man, they lightly esteemed.

On his arrival in the town, Wishart lost no time but at once announced his intention of preaching the following day.

He selected the East Port for the delivery of his sermon and the sick and suspect were formed up outside the gate; the uninfected remaining within.

His text was taken from the 107th Psalm - "He sent his Word and healed them" - and to these words he added - "It is neither herb or plaster, O Lord, but thy Word that saveth all."

In the course of his sermon thereon, he pointed out the dignity and nobility of God's Word, the punishment that follows from the neglect of it, the promptitude of God's mercy towards all who truly turn to Him and the great happiness of those whom He takes to Himself.

His discourse powerfully affected the people and Knox tells us that those who perished were regarded by their neighbours as being specially blessed.

His efforts, however, were not confined entirely to the spiritual welfare of his hearers, for he took an equally /

equally intense interest in their physical well-being and the poor were as carefully looked after by him as were the rich.

Among his helpers, during these trying days, we may doubtless number John Wedderburn, who had returned from exile by that time, for one of the hymns, included in the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" clearly refers to this period.¹

From the graphic account which Knox gives us of his activities in Dundee on this occasion, we get, one feels, the clearest and truest idea of the man as he really was - tireless in his efforts to bring succour and comfort to those in dire distress and devoid of fear in the midst of danger in its most repulsive form.

What a contrast to that picture which so many even of his admirers have presented to us - that of a man who placed his own safety first, even at the expense of a recantation wrung from him by fear, and who, returning to his own country under the impression that that safety was assured, remained in hiding for over a year when he discovered that the times were still full of danger for him!

The apparent impossibility of reconciling two such fundamentally divergent estimates points inevitably to the conclusion that one of them must be rejected as fallacious, and /

1. Mitchell "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" Introd. p. cviii.

and we are consequently faced by the necessity of making a choice between them.

That such a choice is more apparent than real, however, is at once seen when we recollect that the former view is based upon first hand testimony, while the latter has its foundation on what is after all nothing more than conjecture and, as we have throughout endeavoured to show, erroneous conjecture at that.

Attempt on
Wishart's life
at Dundee.

That his reappearance in Dundee was bitterly resented by the clergy there, is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that one of their number endeavoured to put into execution a desperate plot which had been hatched against his life. Knox tells us that the Cardinal "Corrupted by money a desperat preast, named Schir Johne Wightone, to slay the said Maister George,"¹ and his description of him as "desperate" is highly significant in view of the fact that a priest of that name is known to have been in trouble and to have been held prisoner by Beaton at that time.²

The incident is strikingly depicted by Knox who tells us that, so great was the anger of the people, they would have torn the would-be murderer to pieces had they succeeded in laying hands upon him.

Once /

-
1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 130.
 2. "Rentale Sancti Andree" (Sc. Hist. Soc.) trans. and edit. by R.K. Hannay, 1913 - XLVI.
"The Archbishop of St. Andrews" - Herkless and Hannay Vol 4, p. 190 foot note.

Once again, however, Wishart showed his hatred of violence by shielding the unhappy wretch from the fury of the mob.

"Whosoever troubles him," he said, "shall trouble me, for he has hurt me in nothing, but he has done great comfort both to you and to me, to wit, he has let us understand what we may fear in times to come. We will watch better."

Though Knox does not actually say so, the tone of his narrative leads us to think that, though this was evidently the first attempt that had been made on Wishart's life, it was not altogether unexpected; and it is, at any rate, worthy of note that, from this time onwards, he evidently stood in constant fear of assassination or capture.

That this fear was by no means groundless was evidenced by the fact that, as we shall see in due course, a second attempt was made against him not very long afterwards.

Those writers who have essayed to give an explanation of those attempts have almost invariably contented themselves with the assertion that the Churchmen, and particularly Beaton, were actuated thereto solely by their determination to get rid of one whom they considered to be

a most dangerous and influential heretic.¹

Such an explanation is doubtless true, so far as it goes, but it scarcely takes us far enough, for it leaves unanswered the question as to why fully a year should have been allowed to elapse before any attempt was made to put the design into execution.

That the idea of assassination had not been previously entertained is unlikely, but it is perfectly conceivable that, up till this time, Wishart's influence had been strong enough, not merely to render an open attack impossible, but to make a secret one highly injudicious.

If such had been the case, then circumstances must have altered in such a manner as to make his position less secure and we believe that a feasible explanation of this change is to be found in the consequences resulting from certain political events to which we have already drawn attention.

It will be remembered that, at the time of Wishart's return to Scotland, his chief protector Glencairn, and others of the Protestant party, had been engaged in treasonable negotiations with England and that, a year later, Cassillis, and afterwards Brunston, had carried on intrigues /

1. That murder was, on occasion, regarded as a convenient way of disposing of enemies of the Church is evidenced by the case of John Roger - See Knox, p. 119. For note on John Roger see *Rentale Sancte Andree* p. 200 also D. Hay Flemings - "Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andreas" pp 131 - 132.

intrigues against the life of the Cardinal.

That certain information as to these doings had reached the ears of Beaton is more than probable, and its possession would provide him with a weapon which would be used effectively against the intriguers in the event of their espousing Wishart's cause in opposition to him.

A circumstance, which further strengthens this supposition, is to be found in the fact that, for some hitherto unexplained reason, Glencairn and Cassillis failed at a later date, to appear in Support of Wishart at Edinburgh in spite of his having gone there in response to an invitation which they had themselves extended to him.

This communication, which was received by Wishart while he was still in Dundee, took the form of a request that he should act as the spokesman of the Protestant party at a Provincial Synod which was to be held in the capital during the following January.

His ready acceptance of the invitation shows that Wishart regarded the opportunity, which it appeared to afford, as being a most desirable one but, before setting out on his journey southwards, he determined to pay a brief visit to Montrose, in order¹ to salute the Kirk there," /

1. Knox History ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 131.

there," and it was during that time that the already mentioned second attack on his life was made.¹

The 2nd Attack
on Wishart.

The story, as told by Knox, is to the effect that, while at Montrose, Wishart received a letter purporting to come from his old friend the Laird of Kinnear in Fife.

According to the news, which it contained, the Laird was lying dangerously sick and was particularly desirous of seeing him without loss of time.

In compliance with this request, Wishart set out immediately and, as a result, narrowly escaped from falling into what was really a trap set for him by Beaton.

That this second attempt, following, as it did, so quickly on the previous one, thoroughly convinced Wishart that Beaton was now bent on his speedy destruction is evident from the words which he is said to have uttered immediately thereafter.

"I know," he said, "that I shall finish my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands," and this conviction he reiterated at frequent intervals afterwards.

He was not to be deterred, however, from carrying out the promised visit to Edinburgh for, in spite of the earnest advice of his friend, Erskine of Dun, he set out on his journey thither towards the end of November.

In /

1. See p. 62.

Wishart's
Journey to
Edinburgh.

In order to avoid the nearer, but more dangerous, road through the eastern part of Fife, where the Cardinal maintained an almost absolute jurisdiction, he determined to adopt the more circuitous route by Perth and his first halt was made at Invergowrie where he spent the night in the house of a certain James Watson.

At Invergowrie.

It would appear that Wishart's evident restlessness during that evening had aroused the anxiety of his friends and, after he thought that all had gone to bed, he was observed by two of them - John Watson and William Spaden - to leave the house and steal out into the garden.

There he paced up and down for some time, sighing deeply, and eventually, casting himself on the ground, he engaged for almost an hour in anguished prayer.

On re-entering the house, he was asked where he had been and, though he refused to reply at the time, renewed questioning, on the following morning, elicited the following reluctant reply: -

"I will tell you, for I am assured that my travail is near an end; and therefore call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot. God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illumined with the light of Christ's Evangel as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the Apostles."

Neither /

"Neither shall this be long; there shall not be many suffer after me till that the glory of God shall evidently appear and shall triumph in spite of Satan.

But alas, if the people shall be thankless, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that after¹ shall follow."

Wishart's
Prophetic
Powers.

This prophecy as to the shortness of his time on earth, though not uttered for the first time, struck dismay into the hearts of his friends and, though evidently a perfectly natural one under the existing circumstances, it has been regarded by many as calling for some special explanation.

Knox, himself, undoubtedly attributed to Wishart a² genuine prophetic power and many subsequent writers have followed him in so doing.

On the other hand, not a few have been inclined to regard these prophecies as merely affording evidence of the fact that Wishart was in intimate touch with the political events of the time and was thus enabled to "foretell" events which he knew were going to happen.

With neither of these views, however, are we in agreement for, though we are of opinion that Wishart most probably /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

2. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 125.

probably had an "inside" knowledge of the political happenings of the time, we do not think that any proof to that effect can be legitimately based on his so-called prophecies.

Our examination of them has led us to the conclusion that, in no case, is it necessary to postulate either prophetic vision or special political knowledge for they manifest only, what we may call, "intelligent anticipation."

The only one which, at first sight, might appear to offer a little difficulty is that which he is said to have pronounced against Haddington and, if it could be proved that the words were uttered prior to the English destruction of the town in May 1544, it would afford a strong presumption of inside political knowledge on the part of the speaker.¹

Knox, however, states that the prediction was actually made towards the end of the following year and, as it does not seem to be applicable to the subsequent English occupation of 1548, no such conclusion can be drawn from it.

Certain prophecies, which we shall draw attention to later, are recorded by Pitscottie and they would indeed appear to necessitate an explanation different to that which we have suggested, but we are not inclined to accept them /

1. See page 75.

then as genuine utterances, in view of the well-known credulity of that writer.

There is no record of Wishart having made any stay at Perth at this time but we know that, travelling thence by way of Kinross, he reached the Ferry, probably at Kinghorn, and crossed from there to Leith with the intention of going straight on to Edinburgh.

Wishart at
Leith.

When he arrived at the port, however, he was informed that his friends from the West had not yet appeared and he therefore consented to remain where he was in temporary concealment.

His naturally active spirit, however, soon began to chafe against this enforced retirement and he entreated his friends to provide him with an opportunity of resuming his labours.

As a result, arrangements were made accordingly and on the second Sunday of December he preached a sermon from Matthew XIII in one of the churches of Leith.

His boldness on this occasion so alarmed his friends that they besought him to betake himself to a less dangerous neighbourhood, for the Governor and the Cardinal were expected to arrive in Edinburgh almost immediately.

His Visit to
East Lothian.

Acting on their advice, he proceeded to East Lothian where he came into close personal contact with Alexander Crichton of Brunston, Hugh Douglas of Longniddry and John Cockburn /

Cockburn of Ormiston.

As we have already seen, his connection with the first mentioned has given rise to a great deal of subsequent speculation but, so far as can be judged from the evidence at our disposal, this occasion marked the beginning of their intimacy.

Crichton of
Brunston.

The historian Tytler has described Crichton of Brunston as "a dark and busy intriguer" and the account which we have of his career amply justifies this estimate.

He was evidently well known to James V as a political
¹agent, and in 1543 we find him maintaining friendly relations with all parties and being employed by them all in turn. In May of that year, Arran spoke of sending him to France and, in August, there was word of his being employed on a
²mission to England.

On the 20th of May he bore an important letter from
³the Cardinal to the Governor though, at this very time, he appears to have been fully in the interests of Henry
⁴VIII.

Towards /

-
1. Sadler Papers, I, 25.
 2. Sadler Papers, I, 186, 280, 281; Hamilton Papers, p. 81.
 3. Sadler Papers, I, 206.
 4. Sadler Papers, I, 166.

Towards the end of the year he was in close correspondence with Sadler, the English Ambassador, who wished to keep himself in touch with the movements of the Governor and Cardinal after his own enforced retreat to Tantallon¹ Castle.

In December Sadler was recalled to England and we do not hear any more of Brunston until the following April² when we find him plotting against the life of the Cardinal,³ a project which he again took up the following year.

In 1548 he was forfeited and escaped from Scotland and his death evidently took place prior to the 5th December 1558 as on that day the forfeiture against him was reduced by the Scottish Parliament at the instance of John Crichton who is described as "eldest lawful son and heir of umquhile⁴ Alexander Crichton of Brunstane.

Hugh Douglas
of Longniddry.

Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, on the other hand, was evidently a man of firm principle and genuine in his devotion to the Protestant cause. It was under his roof that Knox, after renouncing his priestly office at Haddington, obtained employment and protection as tutor to his sons Francis /

-
1. Sadler Papers I, 332, 337, 338, 342 etc.
 2. See p. 38.
 3. See p. 55.
 4. Acta. Parl. Scot. Vol. II, p. 520.

Francis and George.

Knox had resided with Douglas about eighteen months prior to Wishart's visit and, as Rogers says,¹ "it is probable that his recommendation of the stranger tended towards his favourable reception by the Reformers of Haddingtonshire."

John Cockburn
of Ormiston.

John Cockburn, who was one of Knox's earlier converts, remained his close and attached friend till the time of his death. Chiefly on account of the support which he extended to Wishart, he sustained severe persecution. By the Regent Arran and Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews he was, in 1548, forfeited and banished: but he obtained² his freedom by consenting to underlie the law.

Knox when in France, transmitted to his care Balnaves' "Treatise on Justification" which was found at Ormiston³ long afterwards.

At Inveresk.

On the first Sunday of his being in that part of the country, Wishart preached twice to crowded congregations in the Parish Church of Inveresk and two incidents then occurred which Knox considered worthy of being recorded.

In the first place, an interruption was caused by two Grey /

1. Rogers "Life of George Wishart" ed. 1876, p. 29.

2. See Acta. Parl. Scot. 11, 522-6.

The charge against him was that he had given shelter to Mr. George Wishart who was then at the horn.

Cp. Knox Vol. I, p. 143 foot-note.

3. "Three Scottish Reformers," Edinbr. 1874, p. 20.

Grey Friars who came and stood at the door of the Church with the evident intention of speaking to those who entered.

The preacher, after asking the congregation to make room for them inside, invited them to enter and hear the Word of God truly preached but, when they declined to do so and continued with their interruptions, he burst forth into a heated condemnation of them and their Order, the speedy downfall of which in the country he confidently predicted.

The second incident was of a more hopeful nature for, at the conclusion of one of the services, a public declaration of support for the preacher and his doctrines was given by Sir George Douglas, a younger brother of the Earl of Angus and one of the ablest men of his time.

At Tranent
and Haddington.

On leaving Inveresk, Wishart proceeded to Longniddry and on the two following Sundays preached to large and appreciative audiences at Tranent.

Attended by Knox, he thereafter went on to Haddington where he was entertained on the evening of his arrival by a certain David Forrest - "one man that lang has professed¹ the trueth and upoun whoum many in that tyme depended."

The second night was spent with the Laird of Lethington /

1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 137.

Lethington whom Knox describes as being "ever civil albeit not persuaded in religion."

At Haddington he preached on two successive days but, while on the forenoon of the first the audience was "reasonable," in the afternoon and on the day following it was "so slender that many wondered."

This lack of enthusiasm on the part of the people was attributed by Knox to the fact that the Earl of Bothwell, by procurement of the Cardinal, had inhibited them from attendance under the pain of his displeasure.

To add to the disappointment of the preacher, a messenger arrived from "the gentlemen of the West" intimating that they would be unable to fulfil their promise to meet him in Edinburgh as had been arranged.

Of the reasons which they gave for thus failing to keep their appointment, Knox says nothing but, as we have suggested already, we would probably not be far from the truth if we attributed their non-appearance to fear of the consequences which would result from certain of their secret negotiations with England having come to the knowledge of the Governor and the Cardinal.

That Wishart regarded the news as being fraught with the most serious consequences for himself was evident from the effect which its reception had upon him.

"He /

"He spaced up and doune behynd the hie altar more than half ane houre; his verray contenance and visage declared the greaf and alteratioun of his mind."¹

Contrary to his usual custom also, which was to be alone immediately before preaching, he sent for Knox and began to converse with him, saying that he was wearied of the world for he perceived that men began to weary of God.²

His intention had been to devote his sermon that day to an exposition of the 2nd Table of the Law but, after speaking for a short time on that subject, he suddenly broke off and launched into that condemnation of Haddington and its people to which we have already alluded and which we will now quote.

"I have heard of thee, Hadington, that in thee wold have bein at ane vane Clerk play two or three thowsand people; and now to hear the messinger of the Eternall God of all thy towne nor parishe can not be nombred a hundreth personis. Sore and fearfull shall the plagues be that shall ensew this thy contempt; with fyre and swerd thou shall be plagued, yes, thou Haddingtoun, in speciall, strangearis shall possesse thee, and yow, the present inhabitants, shall eyther in bondage serve your ennemyes, or ellis ye shalbe chassed fro your own habitationis /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, p. 137.

2. As Laing points out, this is the first occasion on which Knox introduces himself to his preachers.

habitationis, and that becaus ye have not knowin, nor will nott know the tyme of Goddis mercifull visitatioun."

As was his almost invariable custom at this time, he referred, in conclusion, to his own approaching death and, deprived, as he had thus been, of the support of his most powerful adherents, nothing could now save him from falling into the hands of Beaton, for his friends in Lothian were not sufficiently influential to afford him any affective support.

Beaton arranges for the
Arrest of
Wishart.

On his arrival in Edinburgh, the Cardinal was informed that Wishart was in East Lothian, and, knowing that he was, at last, completely in his power, he proceeded to make arrangements for his immediate apprehension.

The evening of the same day on which he received the fateful news from the west saw Wishart's departure from Haddington, whence he set out on foot to go to Ormiston, being accompanied on his journey there by Cockburn, his host, John Sandilands of Calder and Crichton of Brunston.

Knox tells us that he himself was very anxious to go with him but that Wishart forbade him saying - "Return to your bairns and God bless you, one is sufficient for a sacrifice."

Having /

Having reached Ormiston, and supper being over, he gave a short discourse on the subject of the death of God's chosen people and concluded the evening's devotions by asking those present to join in singing a metrical version of the 51st Psalm.¹

That proved to be his last night of freedom, for, shortly before midnight, the house was surrounded by the Earl of Bothwell's men and the preacher was handed over to them after their leader had solemnly promised that he would himself stand surety for his safety.

The words addressed by Wishart to Bothwell on this occasion are worthy of note as serving still further to emphasise the fact that what he still most feared was secret assassination at the instigation of the Cardinal.

"I praise my God," he said, "that so honourable a man as ye, my Lord, receavis me this nycht, in the presence of these noble men; for now, I am assured, that for your honouris saik, ye will suffer nothing to be done unto me besydis the ordour of law. I am nott ignorant that thaire law is nothing but corruptioun and a clock to sched the bloode of the sanctes; but yitt I lesse fear to dye openlye, then secreatlye to be murthered."²

Bothwell /

1. This Psalm which begins -

"Have mercy on me now, good Lord,
After thy great mercy" - is found among the
Gude and Godlie Ballatis.

2. Knox's Hist. ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 141.
Probably Wishart was thinking of the fate of John Roger.

Bothwell thereupon again pledged himself that neither the Governor nor the Cardinal should have their will of him, and added that he should remain his own prisoner until such time as he could either restore him to freedom or to the protection of his friends.

His very first act, however, augured ill for his ultimate keeping of that promise, for he conducted his prisoner straight from Ormiston to Elphinstone, where the Cardinal was at that time staying.

What happened at the interview, which must doubtless have taken place then, we do not know, for Knox has nothing to say on the subject and there is no other authority to whom we can turn for enlightenment.

Knox does tell us, however, that, the same evening, a second body of horsemen was despatched to Ormiston to secure the persons of Wishart's chief supporters and that, although Brunston managed to escape, Cockburn and Sandilands were captured and confined in Edinburgh Castle.

From this imprisonment Sandilands was ultimately released, after granting the Cardinal his bond of Manrent¹ while Cockburn escaped by scaling the walls.

That Bothwell's promise with regard to Wishart was not to be trusted was very soon made manifest, for, within three /

1. Knox's History, edit. 1846, Vol. I, p. 142.

three days of having captured him, he solemnly pledged himself, at a meeting of the Privy Council, to deliver his prisoner to the order of the Governor.

The proceedings of the council are recorded in the following extract:¹

"Apud Edinburgh presente domino gubernatore XIX^o
 Januarii anno Domino millesimo V^c xlv^{to} . Sederunt Cardin-
 alis cancellarius, Episcopus Candide Case, Comes Bothuel-
 Abbates paslay, culros, dominus Borthuik, Clericus Registri.

The quhilk day in presens of my Lord Governour and Lordis of Counsel, Comperit Patrik Erle Bothuel - and hes bundin and oblist him to deliver Maister george Wischart to my Lord Governour or ony utheris in his behalff, quham he will depute to ressaue him betuix this and the penult day of Januar instant inclusive, and sall kepe him surelie and ansuer for him in the meyntyme under all the hiest pane and chairge that he may incur giff he falsies hereintill."

That he had ever intended to keep his promise is highly improbable, but he took care to act as if the idea of breaking it troubled his conscience, for he kept moving his prisoner about from one place to another before finally handing /

1. Reg. Sec. Conc. Vol. I fol. 25; Epist. Regum Scot.
 Vol. II, p. 342.

handing him over to the Governor.

That Wishart should remain in Arran's hands did not, however, suit Beaton and he accordingly set himself to gain possession of the prisoner with the result that, after he had been confined in Edinburgh Castle for a few days, he was successful in having him transferred to St. Andrews and lodged in the Sea Tower until such time as a decision had been arrived at with regard to him.

Though Beaton was fully determined on the line of action to be adopted, the Governor evidently wavered considerably for, after appearing to fall in with the suggestion that he should appoint a commission and a criminal judge to sentence the prisoner, if the clergy found him guilty, he was later persuaded by Sir David Hamilton of Preston, that such a procedure on his part, would be extremely in-
¹judicious.

He accordingly refused to comply with the Cardinal's request and expressed a wish that no further action should be taken in the matter until it had received his deeper consideration.

To this, however, Beaton would not consent but proceeded forthwith to make his own arrangements, which consisted in the summoning of an ecclesiastical court to meet at the Cathedral of St. Andrews on the 28th of February for the purpose of trying the accused on a charge of heresy.

1. Pit&scottie - Hist. of Scotland, Edinr. 1727 p. 188.
 George Buchanan's History Bk. XV Ch. XXXIV.

When Arran remonstrated, Beaton replied that he had written, not judging the Regent's authority of any consequence, but desiring for form's sake, his name to the sentence.¹

Such complete contempt for the Governor's authority may seem somewhat strange, but Beaton was well aware of the power which he exercised over him, for not merely² did he hold his eldest son in pledge at St. Andrews but only a few years before, he had secured a public declaration of the Lord Governor's readiness at all times to bring the civil power to bear against those charged with heresy.³

Thus, though according to the law of the land, it was the province of the civil power to inflict punishment after condemnation by the Church, Beaton knew that, even if Arran would not actually help, he would, at least, not dare to hinder, and, apart altogether from the fact that he was himself Chancellor of the Kingdom, he had, in his own⁴ bailies, the power of life and death.

The /

-
1. "Archbishops of St. Andrews" Vol. 4 p. 193.
 2. H. VIII XVIII (2) 378.
 3. Acta. Parl. Scot. 11 443.
 4. Hay Fleming, speaking of Archbishop James Beaton, in his "Martyrs and Confessors of St. Andrews." - p. 64.

The account of Wishart's trial -

The "Black-Letter" Tract.

The account of Wishart's trial, which is found in both Foxe and Knox and, in a slightly abridged form in Pitscottie, is taken from a certain black-letter tract, of unknown date, imprinted at London by John Day and William Seres.

By certain writers this work has been attributed to Knox who, they think, must have written it in the Castle at St. Andrews shortly after the events which it described¹ had taken place.

In support of the contention, certain alleged similarities of style are pointed out but these can scarcely be regarded as so pronounced as to warrant the assertion of identity of authorship.

It is rather unlikely, too, that Knox would have acknowledged indebtedness to another for an account that had been /

1. Lang's Article in Blackwood's Magazine - March 1898.
Rogers had also expressed the same idea earlier -
"Life of George Wishart," Edinbr. 1876, p. 49.

been written by himself.¹

From the wealth of detail which the writer introduces into his narrative however, we would be inclined to believe that he was himself an eye-witness of the events which he described, and that he set about his task of recording them while they were still very fresh in his memory.

He tells us that on the last day of February Wishart was visited in his prison by the Dean of the town, who informed him that, on the following day, he was to appear before the Cardinal's court to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

In reply to this summons, Wishart remarked that, while such formality on the part of the Cardinal was somewhat unnecessary in the case of one who was so entirely in his power, he could nevertheless understand what his motive was in adhering to it.

On the morning of the trial the Bishops were ushered into the Cathedral by the retainers of the Cardinal, while an armed party of a hundred men, under the command of the Captain of the Castle, was detailed to convey the prisoner thither.

The proceedings opened with a sermon preached by Dean John /

1. Knox, edit. 1846, Vol. I, p. 148.

John Winram, who afterwards became a staunch supporter of the Reformation and who, even at that time, was suspected of being somewhat tolerantly inclined towards the new doctrines.

On this occasion, he chose as the subject of his discourse the Parable of the Sower: characterising the word of God as the good seed and likening heresy to the evil seed.

Heresy, he said, was false opinion obstinately maintained in the face of scriptural teaching which manifestly contradicted it. The appeal to scripture as the ultimate authority is noteworthy and indeed the whole discourse might well have been delivered before a Protestant assembly.

The cause of heresy, he further declared, was to be found in the ignorance of the clergy which too often prevented them from being able to distinguish between the true and the false.

With respect to its punishment in this life, he read in the parable - "Let both grow together until the harvest"¹ yet, none the less, he himself was of opinion that persistent opposition to the truth ought to be punished by the secular authorities.

This /

1. Matthew, 13-30.

This last expression of opinion is of particular interest when regarded from the standpoint of the later development.

On the conclusion of the sermon Wishart was placed in the pulpit in order that he might hear and answer the charges which were to be brought against him by John Lauder, the principal clerk and notary of the Officials Court in St. Andrews.¹

After the Articles had been read over quickly the prisoner was called upon to reply to them forth-with but, before doing so, he went down on his knees and engaged for a short time in silent prayer.

On rising therefrom, he proceeded to address to the Court a remonstrance against the false and calumnious charges which had been brought against him and to declare what his teaching had actually been. He said that since his return from England, he had taught nothing but the ten Commandments, the twelve Articles of Faith, and the Lord's Prayer. In Dundee, he continued, he had expounded St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and he would presently explain the manner of his teaching.

At this point he was rudely interrupted by Lauder who exclaimed that he had too long preached without authority; while the Bishops, fearing the effect which a speech from /

1. See Appendix No. 12.

from him might have upon the people, were openly desirous of condemning him unheard.

Perceiving this intention, Wishart appealed to be tried before the Governor, whose prisoner he justly declared himself to be.

"I refuse not my Lord Cardinal," he said, "but I desyre the Word of God to be my judge and the Temporall Estate with some of your Lordschippis myne auditoures, because I am hear my Lord Governor's prisoner."

The request was peremptorily refused but it was decided to give a semblance of justice to the further proceedings by affording him an opportunity of replying to the charges as they were re-read one by one.

In accordance with this decision, Lauder proceeded forthwith to enunciate the first charge, which was to the effect that the prisoner had continued to preach in spite of the excommunication which had been directed against him by the Bishop of Brechin. Wishart's reply was that the Scriptures taught that we should obey God rather than men and that we should not be deterred from so doing by any manner of threats or curses.

In answer to the second charge, that he had likened a priest, saying mass at the altar, to a fox wagging his tail in July, he stated that, while he had never expressed himself in that way, he had always been firmly convinced that outward ceremony, without inward conviction, was as nothing in the sight of God.

The third charge concerned the number of the Sacraments /

Sacraments, Wishart being accused of denying that these were seven in number. In reply he said that he had never considered the question of their number, but that he was prepared to admit only such of them as found a clear warrant in scripture.

From the question of the Sacraments in general, Lauder proceeded to the consideration of them in detail, touching first upon that of Auricular Confession, which he accused Wishart of rejecting.

The response here was that, while he had failed to find any warrant for priestly confession, he was nevertheless convinced that the necessity for acknowledging our sins before God was clearly laid down in scripture.

In support of this contention, he appealed to the 51st psalm and to the Epistle of St. James, chapter 5, verse 16.

The answer called forth a vehement protest from the assembled Bishops, and it was not until the clamour had somewhat subsided, that Lauder was able to proceed with the reading of the next charge, which concerned the Sacrament of Baptism.

In this connection Wishart was accused of asserting that it was essential that every man should understand the nature of this ceremony and, in response, he admitted that he did wish that parents fully realised what they then promised /

promised in the name of the child.

In answer to the next charge that he had taught that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of bread and the consecration of the Eucharist but an idle superstition, he related a story, calculated to show the interpretation which might well be put upon the Romish church celebration by unbelievers. That interpretation had been attributed to himself, as the charge brought against him in this connection showed, but he denied that he had ever held it or expounded it.

It would appear, however, that he was either prevented by the Bishops from giving expression to his own particular view on the subject or that the statement which he did make thereon has been lost.

The seventh and eighth articles dealt respectively with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and with the efficacy of Holy water, and while, with regard to the first, Wishart asserted that he had never mentioned it in his preaching; in the case of the second he said that he had not at any time attempted to estimate its strength.

With regard to the charge that he had expressed belief in the priesthood of all believers and had denied the power of the Pope he replied that in St. John and St. Peter were found the words - "He hath made us priests and kings" and "He /

"He hath made us the kingly priesthood."

"I taught," he said, "that believers are an holy priesthood and that these ignorant of the scriptures, whatever their rank or degree, cannot instruct others; without the key of knowledge they cannot bind or loose."

The next charge was to the effect that he had denied the freedom of the will and had taught that, of himself, man can do neither good nor evil.

To put the case against him in that way, he said, was to misrepresent his views entirely, for what he had asserted was that "whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin" and "if the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."¹

In reply to the further accusation that he had maintained the lawfulness of eating flesh on Fridays, as well as on other days of the week, he quoted the well known words of St. Paul - "Unto the pure all things are pure but unto those that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure."

As to the worship of the saints, with which the following article dealt, he admitted that there was some doubt as to what the actual practice ought to be. It was best /

1. St. John, VIII 34, 36.

best, therefore, he thought, that men should adhere strictly to the first Commandment, which taught that prayer should be made to God only for it was, at best, uncertain whether there was any warrant for the addressing of prayers to Saints.

The conception of Purgatory, he further asserted, had no warrant in scripture and must therefore be rejected as false; while vows of chastity, though laudable in certain cases, should not be undertaken indiscriminately.

As with Purgatory, so with General and Provincial Councils, the fact that no authority could be found for them in scripture rendered their acceptance impossible to such as regarded the word of God as their ultimate standard of truth.

At this point the anger of the Bishops broke out anew and demands were made that the remaining articles should be read over quickly and that no further opportunity should be given the prisoner of replying to them.

When order had been once more restored, Lauder resumed with the reading of an article which accused Wishart of preaching against the building of costly churches in honour of God.

His answer, when called upon to reply to this charge, was that, while he had never condemned the building of churches, he did not consider them indispensable as God was /

was surely present wherever He was truly worshipped.

This article is of particular interest in connection with the assertion that Wishart was concerned with the destruction of religious houses in Dundee, for, it is at this point that such a charge would have been brought against him if there had been any grounds whatever for it.

When questioned still further on the subject of fasting, he replied that the practice was commended in scripture and that personal experience had fully convinced him of the benefits to be derived from it, but, he added, "God knoweth onely who fasteth the trew fast."

The final charge will doubtless appear to the reader as the most surprising of all for in it the preacher was accused of having taught that the souls of the dead remain asleep till the day of Judgment.

Of all the accusations that had been brought against him none would appear to have moved Wishart so deeply as did this one, and his emphatic repudiation of it, both at this time and immediately before his death, was touchingly solemn and convincing.

On the conclusion of these proceedings the Bishops lost no time over bringing in a verdict of "guilty," and, the common people having been ordered to retire, the prisoner was sentenced to be burnt to death as a heretic.¹

After /

1. Knox's Hist. ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 167.

After his return to the Castle, he was visited by two monks from the Grey Friars' Monastery who offered to act as his confessors, but he declined their services, expressing, at the same time, a desire that Winram might be sent to him.

This request was complied with, but what transpired at the meeting we do not know.

Wishart's
Death.

It has been held by some that the execution was fixed for the day following the trial, but there is no evidence in support of such a view, indeed, the oldest account points¹ clearly to the fact that both took place on the same day.

The closing scene, as recorded in the narrative which we have followed, is marked by a noble dignity and tender pathos which cannot fail to impress the reader.

It relates how, when accosted on his way from the Castle to the place of execution by certain beggars, who mockingly asked him for alms, he gently replied that, though he himself no longer possessed the power to help them, he prayed that God would give them food both physical and spiritual.

Likewise, when two Friars importuned him to pray to the Virgin Mary that she might intercede for him, they elicited only the patient rebuke - "Tempt me not my brothers."

When /

1. The extra day was probably introduced in order to make room for the stories related by Buchanan & Pitscottie.

When he arrived at the fire he knelt down and prayed aloud - "O thou Saviour of the World, have mercy upon me. Father of Heaven I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."¹

Rising from his knees he then turned towards the people and exhorted them not to be afraid to stand fast by their faith because of the death which he was about to die.

"For this cause I was sent," he said, "that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake."

"Love the word of God, which is your salvation and everlasting comfort, and, should any of you be called upon to endure persecution, fear not them who can destroy the body, for they cannot slay the soul."

"Most falsely have I been accused of teaching that the soul shall sleep after death till the last day; I believe my soul shall sup with my Saviour this Night."

After a short pause, he continued - "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, exhort your prelates to acquaint themselves with the Word of God, so that they may be ashamed to do evil and learn to do good; for, if they will not turn from their sinful way, the wrath of God shall fall upon them suddenly, and they shall not escape."

Finally, /

1. Knox's Hist. ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 169.

Finally, he engaged once more in prayer, not for himself this time, but for those who had accused him and condemned him.

"I beseech thee, Father of Heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart.

I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

One of the executioners, who entreated his forgiveness, he kissed on the cheek, saying - "By this token I forgive thee; do thine office."

"And then by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged and there burned to powder."¹

The Manner of
Wishart's
Death. Knox's
Account.

A certain ambiguity in the last sentence quoted has given rise to considerable discussion at various times, and the late Professor Macewen summed up the point at issue when he expressed the opinion that - "Whether Wishart was burnt to death on March I, or only strangled (or hanged) his body being afterwards burnt, is indistinct."²

Taken by itself, the sentence would undoubtedly convey the impression that the method of execution employed was /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 171.

2. Macewen's Church History of Scotland, Vol. I, p. 478.

was hanging followed by burning, but, when regarded in conjunction with certain other statements made by the writer, this is seen to be by no means so clear.

For example, he had already stated that Wishart "was led to the fire with a rope about his neck and a chain of iron about his middle,"¹ and we are naturally inclined to ask of what use this chain of iron could be, if he were to be hanged first.

Could it have been intended only as a means of fixing his corpse to the stake before the fire was kindled, or was it used, as some have suggested, to sling him over the fire while he was still alive?

The latter idea, while revolting in its cruelty, is unfortunately not altogether outside the pale of probability.

We are furthermore given pause by certain words which the account attributes to Wishart himself, as well as by an expression used in describing the effect which his death had upon the witnesses.

We have already noticed that, in addressing the people, he said - "For this cause I was sent that I should suffer /

1. Foxes Martyrology ed. 1877, p. 635; Knox, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 169.

suffer this fire for Christ's sake" and, a little later, he used these words - "This grim fire I fear not."

When we proceed further and read that "he likewise spoke many faithful words, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him," we cannot but be struck by the inappropriateness of the phraseology if he were destined to suffer death by hanging.

Finally, we are told that - "When the people beheld this great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter."

George Buchanan's Account.

The account which George Buchanan gives of the execution entirely excludes the idea of hanging and, while one naturally tends to lay more stress on the earlier, foregoing narrative, there is no doubt but that his is the clearer and more consistent of the two.¹ According to it, a wooden scaffold was first erected and a pyre was subsequently built up thereon.

The victim, to whose body several bags of gunpowder had been previously attached, mounted this scaffold and was fastened to the stake by means of cords, the fire being there afterwards lit.

The account agrees with the earlier one in stating that /

1. Ruddiman's "Buchanan", 1715, I, 292-294.

that a cord was fixed around his neck but it explains that this cord was used merely as a means of preventing him from speaking freely to the bystanders.

This explanation inevitably reminds us of the fact that, when Paul Craw was burned for heresy at St. Andrews, in 1433, a ball of brass was forced into his mouth to
¹
 silence him at the stake.

Both Pitscottie and Spottiswoode² followed this account, in spite of the fact that they had undoubted access to the older one also, and it is worthy of note that the former writer was probably in a position to supplement his written authorities by reference to actual eye-witnesses of the closing scene.

Even if it could be conclusively proved, however, that Wishart was first hanged and thereafterwards burned, that fact would not, of itself, discredit the prevalent conception that he suffered on account of his faith for, while either form of punishment might be employed, the two were frequently combined, at that time, in the cases of persons convicted of heresy.

Pitscottie, for example, tells us that Thomas Forrest, Vicar /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, Vol. I, p. 6.

2. Pitscottie's History, Scot. Tex. Soc. ed. II, 80-81.
 Spottiswoode's History, ed. Spottiswoode Soc. I, 161-162.

Vicar of Dollar, was condemned and hanged, his body being¹ burnt, and Calderwood, who got his information from Forrest's servant, does not differ in essentials.

According to Knox, David Straton and Norman Gourlay² were hanged and burned, and the Perth martyrs of 1544 hanged; though the Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents says that these latter were burned.

Again, in his account of Wallace, who suffered for his faith in 1550, Fore says that - "The corde beying about hys necke, the fire was lighted and so departed he to God."

These instances have been quoted because of an attempt which was made recently by a Roman Catholic writer to show that Wishart was hanged and burned; these punishments, according to him, being not one but two³ - the first for sedition and the second for heresy.

"To be a martyr," he argued, "a man must voluntarily give up his life in direct defence of his religious convictions. Now, the "remains" of a man are not the man.

No matter what outrages are inflicted in the name of religion on a corpse, the latter can never be entitled to the psalm of martyrdom.

George /

1. Pitscottie's History, Scot. Test. Soc. ed., I, 350.

2. Knox's History ed. 1846, I., 60.

3. See Article in "Scotsman" of 3rd April 1923, by Father Power, S.I.

George Wishart, as is well known, fell under two bans - the ban of the secular and the ban of the ecclesiastical law of the day.

Under the first, he was convicted of riotous assembly and street brawling to the danger and hurt of the lieges, and was hanged for the offence. Under the second, he was found guilty of heresy, and handed over to the "secular arm" to suffer the then legal penalty of burning at the stake. Being already dead by strangulation for his crime, he could not die again by fire for his faith."

In the first place, it should be noted that no attempt whatever is made by the writer to prove that Wishart was actually hanged before being burned, it being simply taken for granted that such was the case.

Secondly, even a successful vindication of his view on this point would not be sufficient to prove his assertion that the punishments are to be regarded as separate inflictions for two distinct offences.

The instances which we have quoted prove conclusively that death by hanging and burning was really one punishment, not infrequently inflicted upon those convicted of heresy.

Obviously the statement must depend for its vindication on the writer's ability to prove his assertion that Wishart was tried and condemned for a political offence.

This /

This requirement, however, he does not even attempt to satisfy, unless he considered that to call a statement a "well-known fact" was equivalent to proving it!

In the course of a very able reply to the assertion that Wishart was convicted of riotous assembly and street brawling, Dr Hay Fleming brought forward an overwhelming amount of evidence to prove that such a charge was evidently entirely unknown to early authorities, either Protestant or Roman Catholic.¹

Among the latter, he points out that Bishop Lesley, a contemporary of Wishart's, does not give the slightest hint of his having been tried by any secular or civil court or for rioting or brawling or any other secular or civil crime.

He was tried, that writer says, by a convention of clergy, which convicted him of heresy which he had preached and taught "and therefore he was burnt."²

Similarly, in the writings of the Roman Catholic historians, Dempster and Con, there is no mention of a crime other than that of heresy, nor of a death other than that by /

1. Hay Fleming - "George Wishart the Martyr," Knox Club Pub. No. 56 Ed. May 1923.

2. Lesley's - History of Scotland, Bannatyne Club, p.191; "De Origine Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum" 1578 ed. pp. 480-481.

by fire.¹

In the accounts of the Protestant writers - George Buchanan, Lyndsay of Pittscottie and Archbishop Spottiswoode, - to which we have already referred, there is not to be found even a suggestion upon which such a charge might be based.

It is obviously impossible to lay any stress upon the fact that Wishart was called upon to answer for "his seditious and heretical doctrine" or that he was frequently addressed as "traitor" during the course of his trial, for these terms were doubtless used with reference merely to his attitude towards the Church and its teachings.

As Dr Hay Fleming pointed out, seditious doctrine is not the same thing as sedition; and in the eighteen articles with which he was charged there is no mention of sedition.

For his description of the trial and death of Wishart, Pittscottie, as we have already mentioned, did not confine himself to the account used by Foxe and Knox, and the influence of his other sources is seen in his inclusion of the following additional details.

He /

-
1. Dempster "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," Bannatyne Club, II, 599 and 666.
Con's "De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos," Rome 1628, p. 105.

He tells us, for example, that, on the morning of the execution, Wishart dined with the Captain of the Castle and administered unto him and his family the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in accordance with the rites of the Reformed Church.

It is extremely unlikely, however, that the Captain, who is known to have been a highly trusted nephew of the Cardinal, and one of his testamentary executors, would have permitted a condemned heretic to dispense Holy Communion.¹

Equally improbable is his assertion that Wishart, at the same time, talked to the Captain and showed him things that would shortly come to pass in the land.

At the time of his visit to Ormiston, according to this story, there had appeared to him a great fire in the heavens directly over St. Andrews; the presence of which testified to God's wrath against that town.

On looking to the south-east, he had further seen a great cloud of mist and smoke which, after moving across the sea in a north-westerly direction, had settled over Traprain Law for a quarter of an hour.

It had thereafterwards divided into two parts, one of which appeared as fire over Haddington and the other as blood descending from Heaven upon the Church at Inveresk; /

1. For account of John Betoun, younger of Balfour, see *Rentale Sancti Andree* pp. XXVIII - XXIX. Archbishops of St. Andrews IV p. 231.

Inveresk; the interpretation of the phenomenon being that a Council would be held at Traprain which would devise much trouble and blood-shed for Scotland while Haddington, in particular, would suffer as a result of Beaton's breaking the peace between England and Scotland.

The story is just such an one as a writer like Pitscottie might be expected to reproduce without enquiring closely into its origin; and the fact that it found no place in Knox's account is, of itself, sufficient to condemn it, for he, as we have seen, believed firmly in Wishart's prophetic power and would scarcely have omitted to record such an instance of it, had he been aware of its existence or attached any credit to it.

It is to Pitscottie also that we are indebted for an elaboration of the very brief account which Knox gives us of Winram's visit to the condemned man. Whether Knox actually learned more than he admits as to what transpired at that interview must remain matter for conjecture but, according to Pitscottie, Winram was very much affected by the conversation which took place and subsequently bore testimony in Wishart's favour to the Bishops.

That he could scarcely have done so in respect of his religious convictions is evident, for these had been already heard and condemned, but, if there is any truth at all in the story, it might well be that he attempted to /

to dispel doubts as to his innocence in other directions. It is certainly perfectly evident, even from the account which Knox gives, that Beaton was anxious to secure Wishart's confession and, while it may have been simply a recantation that he desired, there is always the possibility that it was further information as to certain political activities of which he suspected that Wishart had some knowledge.

That some such suspicion did probably exist in Beaton's mind can scarcely be denied, for Wishart's known friendship with Glencairn and the circumstances attending his return to Scotland would doubtless provide quite sufficient grounds, in his eyes, for the entertainment of it.

A further statement of Pitscottie' to the effect that Beaton was a witness of Wishart's execution has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion, in spite of the fact that strong confirmation of it is to be found in other quarters.

Before introducing the old account of the trial into his own narrative, Knox states that the Cardinal and the Arch-bishop of Glasgow lay over the east block-house of the castle "till the martyre of God was consumed by fyre."

This fact, indeed, was so well established that
Dempster, /

Dempster, the Roman Catholic historian, did not venture to deny it, but softened it in this way:- "The Cardinal, from a window of his bedroom, was anxiously waiting to hear whether at sight of the fire he would return to¹ righteousness."

Attention must furthermore be paid to his assertion that Wishart, in his last moments, foretold the speedy death of the Cardinal, for the story subsequently received wide credence and has been used by many as an argument in favour of the view that he was cognisant of the murder schemes that were, and had been, afoot.

An enquiry into the historical evidence for the story suggests that its origin is to be found in the misinterpretation of certain words attributed to Wishart by the author of the black-letter tract already referred to.

Speaking of the clergy in general, he is therein credited with having said - "If thei will not converte thame selves frome thare wicked errour, thare shall hastelie come upoune thame the wrath of God which thei sall not eschew."

These words were accepted as they stand both by Knox and by Foxe in their original versions but the latter, in the /

1. *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, II, p. 599.

the reprint of his work, which appeared in 1570, added, as a marginal note, the words - "M. George Wyseheart prophesieth of the death of the Cardinall, what followed after." This note thereafter appears in an elaborated form in George Buchanan's History while Pitscottie transforms it into - "Captane, God forgif zone man that lyis so glorieous on the wall, and within few dayis he sall ly allis schamfullie as he lyis glorieous now."

Finally, in David Buchanan's edition of Knox History, which appeared in 1644, we are informed that - "M. Wischarde, looking towards the Cardinall, said, "He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride."

Even under ordinary circumstances, stories have a way of growing in the telling and, in this particular instance, the murder of Beaton, following so quickly upon Wishart's execution, evidently provided an altogether irresistible stimulus to the process of enlargement.

No account of Wishart could be considered complete which did not attempt to give some indication of his position as a theologian, for, though it is generally admitted that he did not rank high in this sphere, it is to the influence /

Wishart's
Position as a
Theologian.

influence exercised by him that the inauguration of the change in Scotland from Lutheranism to Calvinism is, as a rule, attributed.

Patrick Hamilton had been whole-heartedly Lutheran in his views, and, for some years after his death, the continental connections of the Reformers in Scotland had been with the Lutherans.

As late as 1540, indeed, they were generally known as "Lutherians" but, soon after that date, they began to use the Swiss standards of faith and worship and the way was thereby paved for the subsequent acceptance of Calvinism.

How far Wishart himself actually went in his divergence from Lutheranism may be best judged by comparing the 1st Helvetic Confession, which he translated and introduced into the country, with the Augsburg Confession - the fundamental and generally received symbol of the Lutheran Church.

The 1st Helvetic Confession belongs to the Zwinglian family, and, in common with the other members of that group, it opens with the assertion of the objective principle of Protestantism, namely, the exclusive and absolute authority of the Bible in all matters of Christian faith and practice, in contradistinction to the Augsburg Confession, /

Confession, which starts with the subjective principle of justification by faith alone.

This initial difference, however, cannot be regarded as of fundamental importance for, though the latter does not specifically mention the Bible principle, it is based upon it throughout, while the former devotes an entire section to an exposition of the doctrine of justification¹ by faith.

That such real differences as do exist between the two will not be pronounced, is to be expected when we remember that the aim of those who composed the Helvetic Confession was to emphasise the many points which they held in common with the Lutherans and to minimise, as far as possible, the few in which they differed.

Their desire was to vindicate, in the eyes of the Lutherans, the reverence in which the Sacraments were held by the Swiss Reformed Church, and, to that end, they emphasised, as strongly as they could, their appreciation of their sacredness, without, however, abandoning their own peculiar standpoint.

The Sacraments are accordingly referred to, not as mere or empty signs, but as holy symbols of high mysteries, but /

1. See Helvetic Confession - Article XIII.

but the language employed, though studiously moderated throughout, cannot altogether conceal the fundamental divergence of view.

The "signs" are clearly distinguished from the "realities," which constitute their "whole profit" and are partaken of by faith, and they are not, strictly speaking, a means whereby grace is conferred but they presuppose it and set it forth to our senses and confirm it¹ to our faith.

The Sacrament
of the Lord's
Supper.

The distinction is clearly marked in the case of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for, while the Augsburg Confession asserts that "The Body and Blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated to those who eat," the 1st Helvetic Confession emphasises the view that the body and blood of the Lord are not united naturally nor included locally in the bread and wine, which only serve as signs instituted by the Lord to exhibit the true communion² of His body and blood.

The Sacrament
of Baptism.

On the subject of Baptism there is likewise a marked divergence of opinion for, while the Augsburg Confession declares the administration of that Sacrament to be necessary to salvation, the Helvetic Confession does not lay the /

1. See Article XX of the Helvetic Confession.

2. " " XXII " " "

the same imperative stress upon it.

As in the case of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the sign is clearly distinguished therein from the thing signified, and, just as one might partake of the Bread and Wine without actually having communion with Christ, so baptism by water might take place without baptism by the Spirit and vice-versa.

The difference between the two is to be found in the fact that, while in the Lutheran Church the election theory was moderated by the sacramental principle of baptismal regeneration; in the Reformed Church the doctrine of election controlled and modified the sacramental principle so that the efficacy of baptism was made to depend upon the preceding election.

Zwingli, the influence of whose teaching on the subject is clearly discernible in the Helvetic Confession, had held that all elect children were saved whether baptised or not, that all children dying in infancy were probably of the elect, and that there were elect people even among the heathen; but such extremely broad views had given great offence to Luther and had not been appreciated by many even of his own followers.

Obviously, the authors of the Helvetic Confession could not have gone so far, even if they had desired to do so, for they would thereby have rendered abortive their attempt at a reconciliation, and we accordingly find them adopting a very carefully worded statement which, while not departing from the principle that salvation is dependent upon election, refrains from saying anything as to the probable scope of the latter, and emphasises the duty which is laid upon all Christian parents of having their children baptised as an outward testimony of their faith.¹

The nature of the charge brought against Wishart on this subject, at the time of his trial, tends rather to create the impression that, at some time during his career, he had been inclined, as both Zwingli and Calvin were at different times, to admit the force of adult baptism and had probably been restrained from so doing by the same considerations which had influenced them in their rejection of it.

While /

1. Helvetic Confession, Article No. 21.

Confession.

While the Helvetic Confession is silent with regard to the question of confession, Wishart is reported to have maintained that acknowledgment of sin should be made to God alone¹; whereas the Lutheran view was that the old system of priestly confession should be retained, though enumeration of all offences was not required.

Free-will.

With regard to the question of Free-will, the Augsburg Confession drew a distinction between "civil righteousness," which a man might attain for himself, and "spiritual righteousness" which comes from God; while Wishart, following the teaching of the Helvetic Confession, asserted that, of himself, man could do only evil and that any power which he did possess of doing good came from faith in Jesus Christ.

The difference, though not marked to begin with, became more pronounced later, when Lutheranism, under the influence of Melancthon, modified its standpoint in the "Variata" of 1540, in contradistinction to the increased severity of tone adopted on the subject by Calvin. /

1. See Account of Trial, p. 86.

Calvin.

Church Government
and Organisation.

Though Luther had proclaimed the principle of the general priest-hood, the actual practice in the Churches which bore his name was to confine it to the civil rulers and the people seldom had the power of electing their own pastors or of managing their own affairs to any appreciable extent.

Such a dependence of Church on State was, of course, impossible in Scotland during the years immediately preceding the Reformation, and Wishart was probably the first to realise that fact and have it acted upon in the Churches which he established.

Wishart's In-
fluence on Knox.

We have already drawn attention to the work which Wishart undertook and carried out during the course¹ of his brief ministry in Scotland, but it still remains to make note of what was perhaps his greatest and most effective achievement - the deep and lasting impression which he succeeded in making on the mind of Knox.

Beza,, and other early biographers of Knox, assert /

1. See pages 49-51.

assert that before 1540 he was disposed to question many of the Roman Catholic Church doctrines, but it is an ascertained fact that he remained in holy orders¹ down to, at least as late as, March 1543.

Dissatisfaction he may have felt for some considerable time before the final rupture came, but there can be no doubt that it was Wishart's example that inspired him to free himself from bondage and throw in his lot with the Reformers.

"Knox," says Hume Brown, "owed every debt to Wishart that one teacher can owe to another,"² and there is certainly no exaggeration in the statement.

So far as is known the time that Knox actually spent in Wishart's company was very short, but it evidently was fully taken advantage of, and we can readily understand how anxious the teacher, whose earthly work was then so near an end, would be to impress his views on the mind of one whom he must have recognised was destined to play a prominent part in the moulding of his country's future religious history.

That /

1. Hume Brown's - "John Knox" ed. 1895, p. 56.

2. " " " " " p. 66.

That Knox had adopted his views on the Eucharist is evidenced by certain statements which he makes in his History when dealing with that period of his life which he spent in St. Andrews Castle shortly after Wishart's death.

"Not only all those of the Castle," he says, "but also a great number of the town, openly professed by participation of the Lord's Table, in the same purity that now it is ministered in the Churches of Scotland,"¹

And again, speaking of James Balfour, he says, "This we write because we have learned that the said Master James alleges that he was never of this our religion; but that he was brought up in Martin's opinion of the Sacrament and therefore he cannot communicate with us."²

The circumstances of his own call to the ministry at St. Andrews moreover, show that the custom was for the ministers and congregation to chose a preacher and, reluctant as he was to accept office, he felt that the voice of the people was one which he could not refuse to hear and obey.

What he says, at the same time, with regard to the notes of the true Church by which it is known may be interestingly /

1. Knox's History, ed. 1846, I, pp 201-2
 2. " " " " " p. 202.

interestingly compared with the pronouncement made on the same subject in Article XIV of the Helvetic Confession.

Wishart's
Character.

It is only after considerable hesitation that we have ventured to offer, in this concluding section, a brief critical estimate of Wishart's character, for it may reasonably be thought that, after being presented with the known facts of his career, the reader might best be left to form his own conclusions on this subject.

In reserving our view till the end, however, we may fairly claim that we have, at any rate, tried to put the reader in a position to judge for himself as to its validity, before introducing it for his consideration.

In an enquiry such as this, one naturally turns, in the first instance, to the recorded opinions of those who were in a position to base their judgments on personal experience, and we consequently draw attention once more to the estimates formed by Tylney and Knox.¹

Both were, of course, ardent admirers of Wishart and it may consequently be thought that their judgments must inevitably be, more or less, biassed thereby, but, even if that be admitted, it does not follow that no confidence /

1. See pp. 22-24 and p. 28.

confidence whatever is to^{be} placed in them.

What we must do is to test what they say in the light of what we have ascertained for ourselves, in the course of our investigation and modify, in accordance therewith, any such expressions of opinion as appear to call for revision of statement.

Tylney and Knox, it may have been noticed, agree in placing very considerable stress on Wishart's ability as a scholar, and there would appear to be no reason for doubting their correctness in so doing.

He seems to us, however, to have been that type of scholar whose mind, though perhaps even more than ordinarily susceptible to the influence of new ideas, nevertheless lacked, to some extent, that critical faculty which enables its possessor to arrive at a clear estimation of their respective values and necessary implications.

It is evident, as we have seen, that, on more than one occasion, he embraced, and doubtless expounded, certain doctrines which he afterwards found it necessary to abandon.

During his earlier years as a preacher, he was convicted /

convicted on a charge of heresy which could never have been laid to the account of an orthodox Lutheran; while the nature of the last accusation, brought against him at the time of his trial, would apparently point to the fact that, at some time during his career, he had entertained the Anabaptist doctrine of the sleep of the soul between death and the resurrection.

It will doubtless have been noticed also that, when questioned as to his views on the Sacraments, the answers which he gave were, for the most part, ¹ vague and unsatisfactory.

This fact might be due simply to the inaccuracy of the report, or it might owe its origin to an attempt on his part to be as non-committal as possible, but neither of these explanations would appear to meet the case, when we remember that, to certain other charges, his recorded answers were perfectly clear and did not manifest the slightest tendency to evade the point at issue.

It /

1. See p. 86 - The number of the Sacraments and the nature of Baptism. His view of the Lord's Supper is similarly indistinct, though this may be due to the fact that he was evidently interrupted while speaking on the subject.

It would, accordingly, seem more reasonable to suppose that the subject was one upon which he was not, even then, fully satisfied in his own mind, notwithstanding the work which he had done in translating and teaching the 1st Helvetic Confession.

Doubtless he was thoroughly well acquainted with the diverse views of the time and perhaps the very intimacy of his knowledge rendered it the harder for him to make a final choice.

It may, of course, have been, as some have suggested, that he had no deep interest in the more abstruse theological questions of the day; but we are inclined to believe, that it was not so much lack of interest, as of the necessary temper of mind, that prevented him from setting a deeper impress on the religious speculation of his time.

To be a theologian would seem to necessitate the possession of a keener critical perception than Wishart appears to have possessed, and to demand, in addition, a certain dogmatic tendency of mind which was probably quite alien to him.

If he had possessed the one, he would probably not have fallen so readily into error, and, if he had not been lacking in the other, he would doubtless have expounded /

expounded his views with greater clearness and confidence.

By nature, he would indeed appear to have been gentle, if not even somewhat timid, and his rooted aversion to violence or strife, in any form, we have more than once had occasion to note.

That there was also a sterner side to his character, however, is evidenced by Tylney's letter, and this side doubtless gained in strength under the influence of his unquestioning belief in the divine nature of his mission.

That idea, indeed, may be said to have dominated his later years, and by the power which it exercised over him, he was enabled, in the end, to overcome all the more selfish and cowardly promptings of the flesh.

That the struggle which he thus waged was both constant and unrelenting, is clear from what Tylney says of the asceticism which he practiced in his daily life, and to which he himself alluded when questioned as to his views on Fasting.

This sternness towards himself stands out in marked contrast to the tenderness and generosity which he showed towards those who had need of his help and sympathy. /

sympathy.

His devotion to the cause of suffering humanity found, perhaps, its most striking expression in the work which he accomplished during the plague in Dundee, but, with him, it was a case, not merely of rising to an emergency, but of steadfastly pursuing what was his usual practice, in spite of the exceptionally trying circumstances.

It would be entirely wrong, however, to imagine that such was his invariable attitude towards others, for, in such cases as appeared to him to call for correction and rebuke, he could evidently be extremely
¹severe.

That, as a preacher, he was possessed of exceptional power, is beyond all question and, undoubtedly, it is mainly to his ability in this sphere that the influence which he exerted is to be traced.

The fact that he succeeded in establishing permanent congregations in different parts of the country would further lead one to conclude that he was by no means deficient /

1. See Tylney's letter - "He taught with great modestie and gravite so that some of his people thought him severe and would have killed him."

deficient in organising ability, and no gifts, other than those two which he possessed, could possibly have been of greater service, in his day, to the cause of Protestantism in Scotland.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE CHURCHES
OF SWITZERLAND.

The First Helvetic Confession was drawn up by a Conference, held at Basel, in January 1536, and, though not so exhaustive as the Second Helvetic Confession, which followed it, it may none the less be regarded as the first Official creed of the Swiss Reformed Churches.

The Reformers, Bullinger, Myconius, Grynaeus, Leo Juda and Grossmann, all took part in its preparation and, in the March following its completion, it was presented to, and received the sanction of, the representatives of the different Swiss Churches, at a second Conference held at Basel.

In versions of Latin and German, it was submitted to an assembly at Wittenberg by Bucer and Capito, and also to the Protestant Princes at a meeting held at Smalkald in February 1537, and was approved on both occasions.

Luther, himself, indeed, expressed great satisfaction at its moderate and conciliatory tone.

Wishart's translation is believed to have been printed at London by Thomas Raynalde about the year 1548, but the original, a black-letter tract of fifteen leaves octavo, bears neither date nor printer's name.

The title-page is inscribed: -

"This /

"This confescione was fyrste wrytten and set out by the ministers of the churche and congregacion of Sweuerland, where all godlynnes is receyned, and the worde hadde in most reuerence, and from thence was sent unto the Emperour's maiestie, then holdynge a gryat counsell or parliamet in the yeare of our Lord God, M d cxxvii in the moneth of February.

Translated out of laten by George Usher a Scotchman, who was burned in Scotland, the yeare of our lorde Mv c xlvi."

"Of the Holy Scrypture.

"The Canonycal or holy Scrypture, whiche is the Worde of God, taught and gyven by the Holy Spryte, and publyshed unto the worlde by the prophetes and holy apostles, which also is the moost perfyte and auncient science and doctryne of wysdome, it alone contayneth consumatly all godlynes and all sorte and maner of facyon of lyfe.

"Of the Exposicion of Scrypture.

"The interpretacion, or exposicion of this holy wrytte, ought and shuld be sought out of it selfe, so that it shulde be the owne interpretour, the rule of charite and faythe hauynge gouernaunce.

"Of Mannes Tradicions.

"As to other tyngs, of Tradicions of men, howe bewtifull and how moch receyued soeuer they be, what so euer tradicions withdraweth us and stoppeth us fro the Scripture, of such do we answere the sayinges of the Lorde, as of thyngs hurtfull and unprofytable, 'They worshippe me in vayne, teachyng the doctrynes of man.' Mathi. 15.

"Of the Holy Fathers.

"For the whiche sorte of interpretacyon so farre as the Holy Fathers hathe not gone fro it, not onely do we receyue them as interpretones of the Scripture, but also we honour and worshyp /

worshyp them as chosen and beloued instruments of God.

"The Ende and Entente of the Scrypture.

"The pryncypal entent of al the Scripture canonicall is, to declare that God is beniuolent and frendly mynded to mankynde; and that he hath declared that kyndnes in and throughe Jesu Chryste his onely sone; the which kyndnes is receyuyd by fayth; but this fayth is effectuous through charitie, and expressed in an innocent lyfe.

"Of God.

"Of God we byleive in this sorte; that he is almyghtie, beyng one in substance, and thre in persones; which euen as he hathe created by his Worde, that is his Sone, all thynges of nothyng; so by his Spirite and prouydence gouerns he, preserues, and noryheth he, most truly, ryghtously, and wysely all thynges.

"Of Man.

"Man, whiche is the perfectest image of God in earthe, and also is the chefe dignite and honoure amonge all creatures visible, beyng made of soule and body; of the whiche twayne the body is mortall, the soule immortall; whan he was creat of God holy, by fallynge in vyce and synne throughe his owne fal, drew with hym in that same ruyn and fal, and so subjected all mankynde to the same calamitie and wretchydnes that he fell in.

"Of /

"Of Original Synne.

"And so this pestiferous infection whiche men calleth Originall, hathe infecte and ouerspred the whole kynde of man, so far that by no helpe (he beynge the sone of wrathe and vengeance and enemye of God) coulde be healed by any means but by the helpe of God onely: for yf there be any good that remayneth in man after the fall, that same beynge joyntelie made weaker and weaker by our vyce tournes to the worse; because the strengthe and power of euyll ouercometh it, and nother suffereth it us to folowe reason nor yet to exersyse the godlynes of our mynde.

"Of Frewyll.

"Wherefore we attribute so free wyll to man as we whiche wyttynge and wyllynge to do good, fele experience of euyll. Also euyll trewly we maye do of oure owne wyll, but to embrace and folowe good (except we be elluminat, styred up and mounted, by the grace of Chryst) we maye not: for, 'God is he whiche worketh in us bothe to wyll, to performe, and to accomplyshe for his owne good wyll sake'; and of God commeth our helth and saluacion, but of our selfe commeth perdicion.

"Of the Eternal Mynde of God to Restore Man.

"And howbeit that through his fault man was subjecte unto dampnacion, and also was runne under the iuste indingnacion of God /

God to take vengeance of hym, yet God the father neuer seaced to take a mercyfull care ouer hym: The whiche thyne is manifest not onely of the fyrst promyses and the whole lawe, whiche as it is holy and good, teaching us the wyll of God, ryghteousness, and truthe, so worketh it wrath and storeth up synne within us, and slacketh it not, and that not through any faulte of it selfe, but through our vyce, but also clerely appereth it through Christ, whiche was ordayned and geuen for that purpose.

"Of Jesus Christ and that is Done by Hym.

"This Christ, the very Sone of God, and very God and very man also was made our brother, at the tyme appoynted he toke upon him whole man, made of soule and body, hauynge two natures unpermyxte and one dewyne person, to the intent that he shoulde restore unto lyfe us that were deed, and make us aryse of God annexte with hym selfe. He also after that he had taken upon him of the immaculate Virgin, by operacion of the Holy Goost, fleshe, whiche was holy bycause of the union of the Godhead, which is, and also was lyke to our fleshe in all thynges excepte in synfulness: And that bycause it behoued the sacrefice for synne to be cleane and immaculate, gaue that same fleshe to death for to expell all our synne by that meanes. And he also, to the entent that we shuld have one full and perfecte hope and trust of our immortalitie, hath raysed up agayne fro death to lyfe /

lyfe his owne fleshe, and hath set it and placed it in heauen at the ryghte hande of his Almyghty Father.

"And there he sytteth our victorious champion, our gyder, our capitayne, and heed, also our hyghest byssshop in dede, synne, death, and hell, beynge victoriously ouercome by him, and defendeth oure cause, and pleadeth it perpetually untyll he shall reforme and fascion us to that lykenes to whiche we were create, and brynge us to be partakers of eternall lyfe. And we loke for hym, and beleueth that he shall come at the ende of all ages to be our trewe ryghtuous just Judge, and shall pronounce sentence agayst all fleshe, whiche shal be raysed up before to that judgement, and that he shall exalte the godly aboue the heauens, but the ungodly shall he condempne bothe body and soule to eternal destruction.

"And as he onely is oure mediatour and entercessour, hoste and sacrifice, byssshop, lorde, and our kynge; also do we acknowledge and confesse hym onely to be our attonement and raunsome, satisfaction, expiacion, or wysdome, our defence, and our onely deliuerer: refusyng utterly all other meane of lyfe and saluacion, excepte thus by Chryst onely.

"The Ende of the Preachynge of the Gospell.

"And therefore in the whole doctryne of the Euangelystes annunciat and shew to be the fyrste, and chefely to be inculcated and taught, that we are safe onely by the marcie of God, and /

and merite of our Sauour Christ. And that men may perceyue and understande the better, howe necessary is the mercie of God and Christes merities for them, theyr synnes shuld be clerely shewed to them by the lawe, and remission by Christes death.

"Of Faith and of the Power of it.

"And these so godly benefites, with the very sanctificacion of the Holy Spirite, do we optayne by fayth, the very trewe gyfte of God, and not throughe any other power or strength of ourselues or merytes.

"Whiche faythe is one certayne and undoubted substance and aprehensyon of all thynges that we hope for to come of the kyndnes of God, and it cometh firste out of the selfe charitie, it worketh noble frutes of al virtues: yet notwithstandinge we attribute no thyng to the dedes, althoughe they be godly, yet be they mennes workes and actes; but the helthe and saluacion that is optayned, we attribute to the grace of God onely: And truely this worshyppe alone is the very trewe worshyppe of God; faythe I meane mooste pryncipall and plentifull of good workes, without any confydence in the workes.

"Of the Congregation or Church.

"Also we holde, and belewe, that the Churche, whiche is the congregacion and eleccion of all holy men, whiche also is the /

the spouse of Christ, whom he shall presente without spot unto his Father, washynge it in his owne blode, is of suche lyuely stones aforesayd layde upon this lyuely rock in this maner.

"The whiche Church, howbeit it be euidently knowne onely to the eyes of God, yet be certayne externall rytes, institute by Christ, and be one publyke and lawful teachynge, teachynge of the Worde of God, not onely as it spyed and knowen, but it is also so constituted by them, that without the cerimonies there is no man reconed to be of it, excepte it be by a synguler preuilege of God.

"The Ministers of the Word of God.

"And for this cause we graunte the Ministers of the Church to be cooperators of God, as Paule calleth them, by whome God geueth and ministreth both knowledge of our selfe, and remission of synne, and conuerteth men to hym selfe, rayseth them up and comforteth them, affrayeth them also, and judgeth them; but so that the vertue and efficacie thereof we ascrybe also to the Lorde, and the ministracion of the sacraments. For it is manifest that this efficacie and powre is not bounde nor knytte to any creature, byt is dyspensed lyberally and frely, whosoever, and whensoever, he shall please, for, 'He that watereth is nothyng, nor yet is he that planteth any thyng, but he that geueth the encreasment, which is God.'

"The Power of the Church.

"The authoritie to preache Goddes Worde, and to feede the Lordes flocke, the whiche properly is the Power of the Keyes, prescribynge and commaundyng all men, bothe hye and lowe, all lyke, shulde be holy and inuolat; and shulde be committed onely to them that are mete therfore: and chosen other by the eleccion of God, or elles by a sure and aduysed eleccion of the Church; or by theyr wyll, to whom the Churches depute and apoynt that offyce of chosynge.

"The Chosynge of Ministers or Officers.

"This ministracion and offyce shulde be graunted to no man but to him whom the ministers of the Church, and they unto whom the charge is gyuen by the Churches, and found judged to be of knowlage in the law of God and of innocent lyfe. The whiche seyng it is the very eleccion of God, it is well and justlye approued by the voyce of the Church, and the imposition of handes of the heedes of the preestes.

"The Heed and Shepherd of the Church.

"Christe, verely, hym selfe is the very trewe heed of his church and congregacion, and the onely pastor and heed; and he also geueth presydenes, heedes, and teachers, to the entent that in the externall administracion they shulde use the power of the church well and lawfully: Wherfor we knowe not them that /

that are heedes and pastors in name onely, nor yet the Romenishe heedes.

"The Dutie of Ministers or Officers.

"The chefe and pryncypall offyce of this ministracion is to preache repentaunce and remission of synne through Jesu Christe; to praye continually for the people; to geue diligence wholly to holy stodyes and to the Worde of God, and resyst and pursue the deuyll alway with the Word of God, as withe the sworde of the Spirite, and that with a deadly hatereð, and by all meanes to chasten him awaye; to defende the holy citezens of Christe. And by all meanes compell and reprove the fautie and vicious; and to exclude from the churche them that stereth to farre, and that by a godly consente and agrement of them whiche are chosen of the ministers and magistrates for correction, or to ponyshe them by any other way conuenient and profytable means, so longe untyll they come to amendement, and so be safe: for this is the returnynge of the churche agayne, for one suche citizen of Chryst, yf he acknowlage and confesse his erreure with conuerted mynde and lyfe, for all this doctryne seketh and wylleth, that we requyre wyllynge and helthefull correccion, exhilarite, or comforte all godly by a newe study of godlynes.

"Of the Power or Strengthe of Sacramentes.

"There is twayne whiche are named in the Church of God Sacramentes, /

Sacramentes, Baptisme, and Howslynge: these be tokens of secrete thynges, that is, of godly and spirituall thynges, of whiche thynges they take the name, are not of naked sygnes, but they are of sygnes and verities together. For in Baptisme the water is the sygne, but the thyng and verytie is regeneracyon, and adopcion in the people of God. In the Howslynge and Thankes gyuyng, the bread and the wyne are sygnes, but the thyng and veritie is the communion of the body of our Lorde; helthe and saluacion founde, and remyssyon of synnes; the whiche are receyued by faythe even as the sygnes and tokens are receyued by the bodely mouth.

"Wherefore we affyrme the Sacramentes not onely to be badges and tokens of Christian societie, but to be also sygnes of the grace of God, by the whiche the ministers worketh withe God, to the ende that the promyse bryngeth the worke to passe; but so as is aforesayde of the ministracion of the worde, that all the same powre be ascribed to the Lorde.

"Of Baptism.

"We affyrme Baptism to be by the institucion of the Lorde, the lauer of regeneracion, the whiche regeneracion the Lorde exhibiteth to his chosen by a visible sygne by the ministracion of the congregacion, as is aforesayde. In the whiche holy lauer we wasshe oure infantes, for this cause, because it is wyckednes to reiecte and cast out of the felowshyp and company of /

of the people of God them that are borne of us, whiche are the people of God, excepte them that are expressly commaunded to be rejected by the voyce of God; and for this cause chefely, bycause we shulde not presume ungodly of theyr election.

"Of the Sacrament of the Aulter.

"But the misticall supper is in the whiche the Lorde offereth his body and his blode, that is, his own selfe, verely, to his owne, for this entent he myghte lyue more and more in them, and they in hym. Not so that the body and blode of the Lorde are communed naturally to the bread and wyne, or closed in them as in one place; or put in them by any carnal or maruelous presence; but bycause the body and blode of oure Lorde are receyued verely of one faythful soule, and because the bread and the wyne by the institucion of the Lorde, are tokens be whiche the very communion or participacyon of the Lordes body and blode are exhibited of the Lorde himselfe, through the mynistracion of the churche, not to be a meat corruptible of the body, but to be a noryshemente and meat of eternal lyfe.

"And this holy meat do we use ofte for this cause, for when through the monicion and remembraunce of it, we beholde withe the eye of our fayth the death and blode of hym that was crucified, and remember oure saluacyon and helthe, not without a taste of heauenly lyfe, and very trewe felynge of eternal lyfe; when we do this we are wonderfully refreshed through this spiritual lyvyng and eternall goode. And that with an unspeakable /

unspeakable swetnes we exulte and rejoyce with a myrth unexpressable in wordes, for the saluacion that is founde; and we all and whole are effused with all our power and strength, utterly in doyng of thankes for so wonderfull a benefyte of Christ toward us.

"Therefore it is greatly without oure deservynges that some aleges and sayeth of us, that we attribyte lyttel to the Holy Sacramentes; for they are holy thynges and honourable, bycause they are institute and ordayned by oure hye preest Christ, and receyued; exhybiting the thinges that they signifie in theyr owne maner as is aforesayd; beyng withes to the thinge thet is done in dede; representyng so hye and harde thynges, and bryngeth by wonderfull corespondence & lykenes of similitude, a lyght and a clerness to the mynysters that they signifie; so wholly is oure beleve and estimacion of the Sacramentes, but verely appropriattyng the virtue of quickenyng and santi-ficence to hym onely whiche is lyfe, to whom be all honour & prayse for ever. Amen.

"Of Comynge to Church.

"We beleve and thynke the holy conuencions and gatherynges shulde be holden on this maner & sorte: so that fyrst chefely and before all thynges the worde of God be preached to the people openlie in an open & publyke place, and that daylie: and the secrete & obscure places of the Scripture be opened & declared / .

declared by mete and competent men: And that by the Holy Supper of thankes, called Howselynge, the faithe of the godlie be ofte exercysed, and that they shulde be continually in prayer for all men & for the necessities of all men. But the rest of the ceremonies which as they are unprofitable, so are they innumerable, as vescels, garmentes, wax, lyghtes, alters, golde, sylver, in so much as they serve to subverte the trewe religion of God: and chiefly Idols & Images that stand open to be worshyped, and geve offence & slaunder; and all suche prophane and ungodlie thynges do we abandon, reject, & put away from the holy congregacion & conuencion.

"Of Heretyckes & Sysmattyckes.

"We also abandon & reject from our holy conuencions all them that departeth from the societe & fellowship of the holy Church, and bryngeth in straunge or ungodlie sectes and opinions. With the whiche evyll the Anabaptists are chiefly infecte this tyme: the whiche we judge shuld be constrayned and punished by the majestates and hye powers, yf they obstinately do resyst and wyll not obeye the monission of the Church, and that for the intent that they shulde not infecte and corrupt the flocke of God through theyr wycked evyll.

"Of Thynges Indyfferent.

"The thynges that are called, and in dede also are indyfferent, /

indifferent, howbeit a godlie man may use them frely, and in every place, and at all tymes, yet notwythstandynge he shulde use them with knowlage and of charitie to the glory of God trewly, and the edification of the Church and congregacion.

"Of Magistrates or Gouvernours.

"And seyng euey magistrate and hyghe powre is of God, his chefe and pryncipall office is (except he wolde rather use tyranny) to defende the trewe worshipinge of God from all blasfemy and to procure trewe religion, and as the prophete doth teache of the voyce of God, to execute for his powre. In which part a trewe and syncere preachinge of the worde of God remayneth with a ryghte and diligente institution of the discipline of citezens, and of the scooles: just correccion and nurture, with liberalitie towarde the mynysters of the Church with a sollicitat and thoughtfull charge of the poore, to the whiche ende all the rychesse of the Church is referred. This, I saye, hathe the fyrst and chefe place in the execution of the magistrat.

"Then after to judge the people by equall and godlie lawes, to exersyce and mayntayne judgment & justice, to defend the comunewelthe, and punishe transgressours accordynge to theyr faulte, outhere in goodes, theyr bodies or theyr lyves. And when the majestrate executeth these thynges he honoreth God as he shulde, in his vocacion, and we (howbeit we be free bothe /

bothe in our body and in all oure goodes, and in the studies of oure minde and thought also, with a trewe faithe) knoweth that we shulde be subjecte in holynes to the majestrate and shulde keep fydelitie and promes to hym, so long as his commandmentes, statutes and imperes evidently repugneth not with Him for whose sake we honour and worship the majestrates.

"Of Holy Matrimony.

"We judge Mariage, whiche was instytute of God for all men, apte and mete therfor, which are not called from it by any other vocation, to repugn holyness of no ordre; the whiche mariage as the Churche auctoriseth it & celebrates, so solempniseth it with orison & prayer. And therefore we rejecte & refuse this monckly chastite, and all & hole this slouthful & sluggish sorte of lyfe of superstitious men, as abominablye invented & excogitat thynges, and abandon it as a thinge repugnant bothe to the comune weale & to the Churche. And so confirmeth and stablesseth it, so it belongeth to the magistrate to se that it be worthely bothe begonne & worshypped; & not broken but for a just cause.

"A Declaracion or Wytnessynge or oure Minde.

"It is not oure mynde for to prescribe by this breefe chapters a certayne rule of the Faythe to all Churches & congregacyones, for we know no outhere rule of faythe but the Holy Scripture. And therefore we are well contented with them that agreeth /

agreeth with these thynges, howbeit they use ane other maner of speakinge, or Confession dyfferent apartly to this of ours in wordes, for rather shulde the matter be consydered then the wordes. And therefore we make it free for all men to use theyr owne sort of speakynge, as they shall perceyne most profitable for theyr churches and we shall use the same libertie. And yf any man wyll attempte to corrupte the trewe meanyng of this oure Confession, he shall heare both a confession and a defence of the veritie and truth.

"It was oure pleasure to use these wordes at this present tyme that we myght declare our opinion in our religion & worshipenge of God.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

No. 1. The prevalence of heresy at this time is evidenced by the appointment of an Heretical Inquisitor.

In the Scottish Historical Review - Vol 8 pp 235-241, J. Maitland Anderson gives an account of Laurence of Lindores -

This well-known and dreaded ecclesiastic, he says, has secured for his name a permanent, if not an enviable, place in Scottish history.

He was characterised by Bower as "a great theologian and a man of venerable life"¹ and by a later historian as "the most learned theologian of his day in Scotland."²

He identified himself closely with the University of St. Andrews in which he held a prominent position till the day of his death.

It may be assumed that Laurence was a graduate in Arts of the University of Paris, as he incepted there on April 7, 1393.³

On /

-
1. Scotichronicon LXV.C. XXII.
 2. Hume Brown, Hist. of Scot. Vol. I, p. 206.
 3. Auctarium Vol. 1, col. 677.

No. 1
Contd.

On May 5, of the same year, he was unanimously elected Proctor of the English Nation, but for reasons satisfactory¹ to the Nation he was exc~~u~~sed from accepting office.

In 1408 he was Rector of Creich² and he has also been described as Abbot of Scone, Abbot of Lindores and official of Lindores though there is lack of evidence to prove that he held any one of these offices.

The title of "Haeretica~~P~~ Pravitatis Inquisitor" formed his highest distinction, and he is said to have given no peace of rest to heretics or lollards.

He was the first Rector of St. Andrews University and again filled that office in 1432.

In 1415 and again from 1431 till 1437, the year of his death, he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

No. 2.

There is no direct evidence as to when Lollardism first /

1. Auctarium Vol.1, col. 677.

2. Reg. Monast de Passelet pp. 338 -339.

No. 2.
Contd.

first reached Scotland; but a Lollard, who was put on trial in 1407, was said to have preached in the north of England for twenty years, and it may be inferred that his doctrines would not be long in penetrating into Scotland.

Comparatively little is known about the movement, but the account which Knox gives us of the trial of a batch of Ayrshire Lollards in the reign of James IV, furnishes us with some useful information as to the views¹ which they were said to hold.

Of the thirty persons accused at this time, the names of six only have been preserved and four of these would appear to have been landed proprietors - George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns and Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet.

The other two were ladies related to them by marriage - Dame Chalmers of Polkillie and Marion (?) Chalmers Lady Stair.

The thirty-four charges which were brought against the accused may be grouped under three heads:-

(1) A repudiation of the claims of the Pope.

(2) /

1. Knox's History ed. 1846, Vol. I, pp. 6-12.

No. 2 contd.

- (2) A rejection of certain of the Church Ordinances and usages. - They disbelieved in the worship of saints and relics and held that prayer should not be made or offered to the Virgin. After consecration the bread remained bread and the worship of the Sacrament was idolatry. There was no warrant for Purgatory, Indulgences or Excommunication and the Church had no title to grant divorce after marriage had been contracted.

Every faithful man and woman was a priest and Christians were no more bound to pray in Church than elsewhere.

- (3) A disregard of civil authorities.

- They denied to the secular power the right to judge in things religious and held that tithes should not be paid to "ecclesiastical persons."

Oaths were in no case lawful neither was it lawful to fight or to defend the faith.

The Lollard movement in Scotland deserves to be recorded because it marked the first open severance from the Roman Church.

Its effectiveness, however, was, to a large extent, nullified /

No. 2 contd.

nullified by its lack of a clear and stimulating central doctrine such as the Reformation movement possessed.

Its leading tenet - that the Bible should be read independently by every Christian - "does not become a vivifying or guiding doctrine until the teaching of the Bible is centralised, and its appeals to conscience are defined."¹

Similarly, its maxim that "every faithful man and woman is a priest" tended to remain barren until combined with the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

No. 3.

Bishop Trail's Synodal Statutes of St. Andrews are of considerable interest because of the light which they serve to throw upon the actual life of the Church of the time.

They enact, inter alia, "that all rectors and vicars shall be able to read and understand synodal decrees and shall make certain fixed payments if not resident in their benefices.

All rectors, vicars, and other beneficed persons, shall /

1. Macewen - "History of the Church in Scotland", I, p. 325.

No. 3 contd.

shall lead a chaste life and put away their public women and concubines within three months; the penalty for a first offence being a fine of 40 shillings with suspension; for a second offence, ten marks; for a third offence, deprivation. No priest shall celebrate several masses a day for gain, and no Church benefices shall be let to laymen.

Priests shall not carry long knives save when travelling, or celebrate in short tunics, or undertake in avarice the employments of laymen. Beneficed churchmen, when under discipline, shall not appeal to powerful laymen; priests shall cease to solemnise marriage without the proclamation of banns and all betrothals shall be made in the presence of a priest and witnesses. The deaths in every parish shall be reported annually, with special reports upon bequests made for religious purposes.

No dances or wrestling-matches or unseemly sports shall be held in churches or church-yards since these have led to blood-shed and immorality in sacred places.

Annual /

No. 3 contd.

Annual consistories shall be held in the arch-deaconries of the diocese for the instruction of priests in the ministration of sacraments and in other matters that concern the salvation of the souls of their parishoners.

With these enactments, the Statutes proclaim the excommunication of persons guilty of arson, coin-clipping, church robbery, usury, perjury etc.; those who leave their off-spring at church doors, assault priests, remove thieves from church asylum, take part in simony, succour the Saracens in arms or otherwise, those who favour heretics or receive schismatics willingly, trouble the King's Peace, specially Ecclesiastical Peace, with a malevolent mind, or withdraw from the unity of Holy Mother Church."

It is interesting to compare with the fore-going the instructive attempt made at reform by Archbishop Forman in his Synodal Constitutions and¹ Ordinances.

They /

1. Statuta cclxx.f.f.; Patrick's - Statutes of the Scot. Church p. 260, ff.

No. 3 contd.

They show that the social conditions of the times were still back-ward and lawless. Sexual immorality was prevalent and outrages upon clergy common. Clerics were ordered not to don corslets or secular clothing nor to connive at ante-nuptial fornication.

They were to prepare lists of excommunicated persons and of deceased persons so that rightful heirs might not be defrauded.

They were forbidden to use indecent words and unseemly gestures in Church, and were instructed to deal reverently with the holy Eucharist in carrying it from place to place.

Absenteeism, without the permission of the Archbishop, was prohibited; while the right of issuing indulgences and pardons and of hearing confessions privately was limited to those who had episcopal sanction, except Franciscans and Dominicans.

Fighting in church-yards and churches was declared to be profane, and explicit instructions were given for dealing with churchmen who openly kept public women and concubines to the discredit and injury /

No 3.
Contd.

injury of the whole Church.

No 4.

In July 1525 Parliament enacted the following prohibition:-

"It is statute and ordained that, forasmuch as the damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this realm with its lieges has firmly persisted in the holy faith since the same was first received by them, and never as yet admitted any opinion contrary to the Christian faith, but ever has been clear of all such filth and vice. - Therefore that no manner of strangers who happen to arrive with their ships within any part of this realm bring with them any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants, dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions unless it be to the confusion thereof (and that by clerks in the schools allenarly) under the pain of escheating of their ships and goods and putting of their persons in prison, and that this Act be published and proclaimed throughout the realm at all ports and boroughs of the same, so that they may allege no ignorance thereof."

No. 5 /

No. 5.

The following shorter form of the letter appears in the State Papers of Henry VIII, Vol. XIV, I. 1095: -

"Thos. Jeffryes, Mayor of Bristol to Cromwell.

Accusations have been made before me by Sir John Kerell, dean of Bristol, deputy of the of Worcester, against George Wiseharde, a Scotchman who was lately before your Lordship. I send a copy and desires credence for the chamberlain and dean of Bristol.

Bristol, 9 June, 31 Henry VIII.

Signed.

P.I. Add. Lord Privy Seal."

No. 6 /

No. 6.

Dr Rogers suggested that, by inserting the word "mother" before "nother" in the record, the passage obtained an intelligibility which it otherwise lacked.

It would then read: -

"George Wysard sett furth his lecture in S. Nicholas Church of Bristowe, the moost blasphemous heresy that ever was heard: openly declaring that Christ (mother) nother hathe nor coulde merite for him ne gett for us."

Finding thus two words of similar form in immediate juxtaposition, the engrossing clerk inadvertently omitted one of them, a species of error into which transcribers are prone to fall.

No. 7.

The Ambassadors, appointed to represent Scotland in the first instance were - Sir James Learmont of Balcomie, Sir William Hamilton of Sanguhar, and Mr Henry Balnaves, but they were joined later by the Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas.

To begin with, Henry had been inclined to demand /

No. 7 contd.

demand the recognition of himself as the Overlord of Scotland, and the surrender to England of several important Scottish fortresses, but he later moderated these ambitions and two treaties were eventually drawn up.

By the one, it was agreed that neither country was to give any assistance against the other to any foreign aggressor and, by the other, it was arranged that the young Queen was to remain in Scotland till she had attained the age of ten years.

The English King, however, secured the right to appoint a certain number of ladies and gentlemen to look after her welfare.

These treaties were eventually signed at Holyrood on August 25th, 1543, by Arran but Beaton¹ was not present.

No. 8. /

1. H. XVIII, II, 79.

No. 8.

"The Lords of the Articles

think that the Holy Writ may be used by all the lieges in the realm, in the vulgar tongue, of a good, true and just translation, because there is no law shown or produced to the contrary, and that none of our Sovereign Lady's lieges incur any crime for having or reading of the same in the form as said is, nor shall be accused thereof in time coming; and that no persons dispute, argue, or hold opinions of the same, under the said pains contained in Acts of Parliament.

A delay was asked for by the Clergy until such time as a Provincial Synod might be held of all the clergy of the realm to consider and determine if the Scriptures should thus be translated for the use of the people generally.

No. 9.

No. 243 of the State Papers of Henry VIII, XIX. I., refers to a request, made to Henry VIII by Lennox, Angus, Cassillis and Glencairn for help against Beaton and Arran.

The English Commissioners, Wharton and Bowes, were appointed to meet their representatives at Carlisle, and the following terms were presented for the acceptance of the Scots:-

(1) To see that God's Word was preached in the country.

(2) /

No. 9.

- (2) To remain perpetual friends of England and to renounce all leagues with France.
- (3) To see that the young Queen was not removed, and to try to get her into Henry's hands.
- (4) To assist the English King to gain possession of Jedworth, Kelso, Roksborrowe, the Hermitage etc. and to be enemies to all who opposed the King.
- (5) To help Henry to become Protector of Scotland.

In return, Henry was to send an army against their enemies and their lands were to be spared during the invasion.

Lennox was to receive in marriage Henry's niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas; was to be appointed Governor under Henry and was to be supported in his claim to the Scottish throne if the young Queen died.

Angus was to continue to draw his pension, while Cassillis and Glencairn were each to receive 1,000 crowns.

No. 337 of the same volume (Hamilton Papers II. 214) deals with the defection of Angus, who had gone /

gone over to the Cardinal, and asks what the others are to do under the circumstances.

Mention is made later of the dissatisfaction of Cassillis.

Eventually, all former instructions were cancelled and Wharton and Bowes were appointed to treat with Glencairn's and Lennox's Commissioners at Carlisle.

(Rhymers's Foedera Vol. XV, p. 19.)

The terms then agreed to were practically the same as those already quoted.

No. 522 - This treaty was signed at Carlisle in May 1544.

Appendix No. 10.

To the narrative of Wishart's character, supplied¹ to Foxe, Tylney adds these lines, which he styles

"Dogmata ejusdem Georgii,
 "Fides sola sine operibus justificat;
 Opera ostendunt et ostentant fidem;
 Romana ecclesia putative caput mundi,
 Lex canonica caput Papae,
 Missae ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis."

There is, of course, a double meaning here; the bipartite arrangement being intended, e.g.,

"Fides sola sine operibus justificat
 Opera ostendunt et ostentant fidem.
 Romana ecclesia putative caput mundi
 Lex canonica caput Papae
 Missae ministerium mysterium iniquitatis."

"This is the one faith.	Papal supremacy, that
The Roman Church, the canon	mystery of iniquity, which
law, the service of the	thinks itself the head of
mass, prove and show good	the World, justifies
works.	faith without works."

1. Foxe's Martryology, ed. 1877; Vol. 5, p. 627.

Appendix No. 11.

"Life of George Wishart, the Scottish Martyr" by the
Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., Edinburgh, 1876, ed.

Wm. Paterson.

It is now almost fifty years ago since Dr Rogers produced his "Life of George Wishart," and, though subsequent discussion of controversial points has resulted in the appearance of numerous papers and articles, his work is still generally regarded as being the most complete record which we possess of that great Scottish martyr.

It has been felt, however, that the subject might benefit, to some extent, by a careful study and reconsideration of such facts as are available, and the present work is the outcome of an effort made in accordance therewith.

From the general point of view, we are inclined to think that Dr Rogers' account suffers from the fact that he failed to make adequate use of the historical background of the times and that, consequently, the motives which actuated Wishart and others, on many occasions, have either been entirely ignored or altogether misrepresented.

Why, /

Why, for example, did Wishart return to England when he did?

How did it happen that he was permitted to carry on his work in Scotland for a comparatively long time, without interference from the Clergy?

Why was he eventually abandoned by Glencairn and Cassillis?

To these, and to other equally pertinent questions, Rogers offers us no answers!

Again, the picture which he gives us of Wishart does not appear to be either true or consistent.

In his anxiety to free him from the charge of heresy, which was raised against him at Bristol, he makes it appear as if Wishart had recanted through fear of the consequences which a refusal would entail.

He shows him, on a later occasion, as waiting for a safe opportunity to return to Scotland, and, as hiding himself away in Pitarrow, when he found that he had misjudged the time.

Such, of course, was not the impression which the writer intended to convey and it is, indeed, quite at variance with the one obtained from his recital of certain other episodes in Wishart's career.

A further marked weakness lies in the fact that

no attempt is made to describe the work accomplished by Wishart during his ministry in Scotland, nor to estimate the part which he played in the transition from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

There are, moreover, certain points in Wishart's career which have long afforded scope for great diversity of opinion but, in the majority of such cases, Dr. Rogers has contented himself with simple dogmatic assertions - attempting neither proof of his own position nor disproof of his opponents'.

He states, for example, that Wishart returned to Scotland in July 1543 and that Knox erred in saying otherwise!

So far as regards details, we have differed from Dr. Rogers' account as follows:-

- (a) We do not think that he has made out his case for Wishart's parentage with sufficient clearness and accuracy.
- (b) There does not seem to be any ground for thinking that he received his early education abroad. King's College, Aberdeen, most probably provided his University training.
- (c) /

- (c) There is no evidence that he went first to Cambridge on his flight to England. If he did so, the dates show that the visit must have been an extremely short one.
- (d) We do not agree with the view taken as to the heresy for which Wishart was condemned while at Bristol.
- (e) We think that he returned to England late in 1542 or, more probably, early in 1543.
- (f) He returned to Scotland in 1544, and not in 1543 as Rogers asserts.
- (g) The idea that he spent a year in hiding at Pitarrow, after his return to Scotland, we regard as being entirely without foundation.
- (h) Rogers says nothing about the religious riots which took place at Dundee in August 1543 but his theory opens the possibility of Wishart's having been there, while our view entirely excludes it.
- (i) Certain ascetic practices of Wishart's are attributed by Rogers to defective circulation. The idea assumes significance from the fact that he bases the former's prophetic power upon this peculiar physical condition!

His prophecies are thus limited to purely personal /

personal ones and all others are relegated by Rogers to the sphere of imagination.

(j) Rogers lays great stress on the fact that Wishart was in "Holy Orders" but he offers no evidence in support of the contention. Wishart's right to administer the Sacraments lay in the fact that he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people or congregation.

No. 12.

The following account of John Lauder is taken from the *Rentale Sancti Andree* pp LIII - LV. --

John Lauder, the son of a priest, studied at St. Andrews, was received as a master by the Faculty of Arts in 1509, and acted as a "temptator" or examiner in 1511.

He was early associated with Andrew Forman, who, as Bishop of Murray, gave him the tonsure, and subsequently provided him with an induct to hold incompatible benefices. He was junior secretary to Forman, as Archbishop of St. Andrews, and had been created notary by apostolic authority in virtue of powers obtained at Rome by John Sanchy, the¹ chief secretary.

On the death of the Archbishop, Lauder did not enter the service of his successor, James Betoun, with whom he was on bad terms. Working chiefly in the diocese of Glasgow, he began the collection known as the St. Andrews "Formulare," and entered a very large number of writs which had passed through his hands as junior Secretary, with others evidently copied from the register.

When David Betoun succeeded to St. Andrews, Lauder, who was now Archdeacon of Teviotdale, assumed the position of chief secretary and continued to add to his book of styles.

On at least two occasions Lauder visited Rome."

"Lauder was also appointed for life to be the principal clerk and notary of the Official's Court in St. Andrews, with custody /

1. *Acta Facultatis Artium* (St. And., M.S.S.)
Archbishop of St. Andrews 11. 227.

custody of the seal, books and papers.

He was entitled to choose his subordinates and to enjoy the usual profits, with the exception of that part¹ which fell by custom to the official himself.

Lauder's activities in the prosecution of heretice are well-known to readers of John Knox and need not be described.

The portrait drawn of him is not flattering; but he is entitled to consideration for his masterly penmanship and for the extraordinary industry which makes his *Formulare* the most valuable collection of evidence in existence for a study of contemporary ecclesiastical administration.

It is specially important as recording many fugitive writs of which the originals cannot long have survived the particular occasions and persons concerned.

The date of Lauder's death does not seem to be recorded.

He appears incidentally as secretary to Archbishop John Hamilton; but in 1552 the Archdeanery of Teviotdale, or the parsonage of Morebattle, as his benefice is often called, was occupied by another².

1. *Formulare* p. 525.

2. Laing, works of John Knox 1 238 u; Reg. Glasg., 613.

A.

- Aberdeen, 14, 159.
 Abirbrothok, 47.
 Acta. Parl. Scot. 3, 4, 5, 25,
 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37,
 71, 72, 81.
 Albany, Regent, 2.
 Anderson, J. Maitland, 142.
 Anabaptists, 117.
 Angus - district of, 50.
 " - Earl of, 44, 73, 153,
 154, 155.
 Arbroath, 40.
 Arran - Regent, 28, 29, 30, 33,
 35, 36, 49, 52, 69, 70, 71, 72
 74, 78, 79, 80, 85, 152, 153.
 Auctarium, 142.
 Augsburg - Confession of,
 106, 108, 111.
 Augustinian Monastery, 4.
 Ayr, town of, 56, 57.
 Ayrshire, 53, 54, 56, 143.
- Baptism, 86, 108, 109, 117,
 134.
 Barr, John Lockhart of, 57.
 Basel, 22, 123.
 Beaton, Cardinal David,
 III, IV, V, 15, 29, 30,
 35-40, 45, 46, 49, 55,
 56, 61, 66, 69-71, 74-78,
 80-82, 102-105, 152, 153,
 155.
 Beaton, ^{Arch. Bishop of} Archibald James, 81,
 162.
 Beaton, John, of Balfour, 101.
 Bellenden, John, translator
 of Boece, 4.
 Benedictine, Monastery, 4.
 Berwick, 51.
 Beza - Biographer of Knox,
 112.
 Blackwood's Magazine, 55, 81.
 Boece, Hector, 4.
 Bothwell, Church of, 142.
 " Patrick, Earl of,
 74, 77, 78, 79.

B.

- Baird, Lecture, 14.
 Balfour, James, 114.
 Ballads, 7.
 Balnaves, Henry, 72, 151.
- Bower, Walter, 142.
 Bowes, English Commissioner,
 153, 155.
 Brechin, John Hepburn,
 Bishop of, 15, 85.
 Bristol, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20,
 21, 150, 158, 160.

B. (contd.)

Brown, P. Hume, 113, 142.
 Bucer, Martin, 22, 123.
 Buchanan, David, 105.
 " George, 15, 80, 95,
 100, 105.
 Bullinger, Henry, 22, 123.
 Burton, J. Hill, 43, 44.

C.

Calderwood, D. 97.
 Calvin, John, 110, 111.
 Calvinism, 106, 159.
 Cambridge, University of, 9,
 22, 27, 47, 160.
 Campbell, Geo. of Cessnock,
 143.
 Campbell, Geo. of Mongarswood,
 57.
 Campbell, Hew of Kinyean-
 cleugh, 57.
 Campbell, Sir Hugh of Lou-
 doun, 57.
 Campbell, John of Newmilns,
 143.
 Campbell, Mungo of Brounsyde,
 57.
 Capito, Reformer, 123.
 Carlisle, III, 37, 41, 153,
 155.
 Carnegies, Earls of Southesk,
 13.
 Cassillis, Gilbert Kennedy,
 3rd Earl, IV, 44, 55, 56,
 63, 64, 153, 154, 155, 158.
 Caw - Scottish Portraits, 9.
 Chalmers, Dame, of Polkillins,
 143.
 Charteris, John, 39.
 Christ Church, Bristol, 17, 18.
 Clerk, Bishop of Bath, 17, 18.
 Cockburn, John, of Ormiston,
 43, 70, 72, 76, 78.
 Con G. (Conaeus) 99, 100.
 Confession, Doc. of, 86, 111,
 148.
 Contemporary Review, 47.
 Councils, Church, 89.
 Council, Scot. Privy, 7, 41,
 79.
 Cramond, Wm. of Cullen, 11.
 Cranmer, Archbishop, 17, 18,
 19.
 Cregar, Paul, 3, 96.
 Creich, Rector of, 142.
 Crichton, Alex. of Brunston,
 38, 39, 43, 55, 63, 69,
 71, 76, 78.
 Crichton, John of Brunston,
 71.

C. (contd.)

Cromwell, Thomas, Lord, 16,
21, 150.

Culross, Abbot of, 79.

Cunningham, J., 43.

D.

Dalyell, Sir J.G., 7.

Day, John, 81.

Demaus, Rev. R., 15.

Dempster, T., 99, 100, 104.

Diurnal of Remarkable Occur-
rents, 30, 31, 35, 36, 47,
49, 52, 58, 97.

Dollar, 96.

Dominicans, 148.

Douglas, Francis of Long-
niddry, 72.

Douglas, Sir Geo., 36, 44, 73,
151.

Douglas, Geo. of Longniddry,
72.

Douglas, Hugh " " "
71, 72, 169.

Douglas, Lady Margaret, 154.

Dowden, Bishop, 3.

Dunbar, Gavin, Archibishop of
Glasgow, 56, 103.

Dundee, 11, 44, 47-50, 52, 58,
60, 61, 64, 84, 90, 120, 160.

E.

Edinburgh, IV, 7, 33, 35, 40,
45, 64, 65, 69, 74, 81.

Edinburgh Castle, 45, 80.

Edward, Prince of Wales,
26, 31.

Election, Doc. of, 109.

Elphinstone, Tower, 78.

Emperor, "The" (Ch. V), 124.

England, II, 1, 7, 8, 11, 14,
21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 35, 40,
47, 63, 70, 71, 74, 84, 102,
143, 152, 154, 157, 160.

Epis. Reg. Scot., 79.

Erskine, of Dun, 10, 14, 65.

Eucharist, 51, 87, 101, 108,
109, 114, 117, 135, 144,
148.

Excommunication, 144.

F.

Fasting, Doc. of, 88, 90, 119.

Fife, 39, 65, 66.

Fleming, D. Hay, 11, 47, 63,
81, 99, 100.

Flodden, Battle of, 1.

Forman, Archbishop, 4, 147, 162.

Formulare - St. Andrews,
162, 163.

Forrest, David, 73.

F. (contd.)

- Forrest, Thomas, Vicar of Dollar, 96.
- Foxe, Martyrologist, 22, 24, 81, 94, 97, 100, 104, 156.
- France, 8, 13, 27, 35, 70, 154.
- Franciscans, 30, 73, 91, 148.
- Fraser, Wm. 13.
- Free-will, Doc. of, 88, 111, 127.

G.

- Galston, village of, 57.
- Germany, 22.
- Glasgow, Archbis. of, 56, 103.
- Glasgow, University of, 9.
- Glencairn, Wm. Cunningham, 4th Earl, III, IV, V, 33, 53, 56, 63, 64, 103, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158.
- Gordon, Dr John, 11.
- Gourlay, Norman, 97.
- Government, Church, 112.
- Greenwich, 31.
- Grey, Lord, 40.
- Grossmann, Reformer, 123.
- Grynaeus, " 123.

H.

- Haddington, IV, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 101, 102.
- Hamilton, Archbis. of St. Andrews, 72, 84, 163.
- Hamilton, Sir D. of Preston, 80.
- Hamilton, Papers, 26, 30, 32, 34-36, 38, 47, 70, 155.
- Hamilton, Patrick, 5, 6, 8, 106.
- Hamilton, Sir Wm. of Sanquhar, 151.
- Hannay, R.K., 29, 61, 63, 81, 101, 162.
- Hart, Andrew, 7.
- Haynes - State Papers, 41.
- Helvetic Confession, 1st, 20, 22, 50, 106-111, 114, 118, 123.
- Helvetic Confession - Text of the, 125-140.
- Helvetic Confession, 2nd, 123.
- Henry VIII, 7, 16, 24, 26, 29, 34, 35, 38, 55, 70, 81, 152, 153, 154.
- Henry VIII - State Papers of, 17, 20, 25, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 47, 52, 55, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155.
- Hepburn, John, Bishop of Brechin, 15, 85.
- Herkless, J., 29, 61, 81, 101.

H. (contd.)

Hertford, Earl of, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43.

Holbein, 9.

Holyrood, Palace of, 152.

I.

Indulgences, Doc. of, 144, 148.

Inveresk - Church of, 72, 73, 101.

Invergowrie, 66.

Ireland, Thomas, 11.

J.

James I., 2, 3.

" IV, 1, 26, 143.

" V., 8, 54, 70.

" Epistle of St., 86.

Jedworth, 154.

Jeffreys, Thomas, 17, 150.

Jerusalem, 58.

John, Epistle of St., 87.

" Gospel of St., 88.

Juda Leo, 123.

Julius II - Pope, 1.

Justification by Faith, Doc. of, 50, 107, 130, 145.

K.

Kearne, John, 16, 18, 150.

Kelso, 154.

Kennedy, Quentin, 4.

Kinghorn, 69.

King's College, Aberdeen, 14, 159.

Kinnear, Laird of, 65, 67, 68.

Kinross, 69.

Kirkcaldy, Wm. of Grange, 39, 45.

Knox, John, IV, 3, 5, 6, 8, 14, 27, 28, 30-34, 38, 42, 44, 46, 49, 51-53, 56-59, 60-65, 71-78, 80-82, 90, 92-94, 96, 97, 100, 102-105, 112-116, 143, 159.

L.

Laing, David, 75, 163.

Lang, Andrew, 2, 44, 55, 81.

Latimer, Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, 15.

Lauder, John, 84-86, 89, 162.

Law, T. G., 54.

Lawrence of Lindores, 154.

Learmont, Elizabeth, 10, 11, 13.

" Sir Jas. of Balcomie, 151.

Leith, 35, 36, 69.

L. (contd.)

Lennox, Earl of, 153-155.
 Leo X - Pope, 1.
 Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross,
 4, 14, 22, 31, 99.
 Leslie, Norman, 43.
 Lethington, Sir Richard
 Maitland of, 73.
 Lindores Abbey, 47.
 Lindsay, Sir D., 4.
 Lollards, 2, 3, 54, 142, 143,
 144.
 Longniddry, 73.
 Lothians, IV, 56, 76.
 Lothian, East, 69, 76.
 Luther, Martin, 54, 109, 112,
 114, 123, 149.
 Lutheran, 1, 15, 106, 107,
 109, 111, 117, 159.
 Lyndsay, Janet, 11.

M.

Macewen, A.R., 2, 93, 145.
 Major, John, 4.
 Marischal, Earl, 39, 40, 53.
 Mary of Guise, 36.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 25, 26,
 31, 45, 152, 154.
 Matthew, Gospel of St., 83.

Mauchline, village of, 57, 58.

Maxwell, Alex., 6, 46, 48.

McCrie, T., 2, 19.

Mearns, district of, 50.

Melancthon, P., 111.

Mill, Robert, 52.

Mitchell, A.F., 6, 51, 60.

Montgomery, Cap. de Lorge, 30.

Montrose, 10, 14, 49, 50, 51,
 64, 65.

Morebattle, parsonage of, 162.

Murray, Regent, 45.

Myconius, Reformer, 123.

N.

Newcastle, 38.

Newton, George, 142.

Nicholas, Church of St., 15,
 17, 18, 151.

Nisbet, Murdoch of Hardhill, 54.

O.

Oaths, Taking of, 144.

Ogilvie, Lord, 47.

Original Sin, Doc. of, 127.

Ormiston, House, 76-78, 101.

Oxford, 1.

P.

Paisley, Abbot of, 79.
 Papacy, 1.
 Parliament, Scot., 1, 2, 45, 71.
 Patrick, D., 147.
 Paul, Saint, 88.
 Perth (St. Johnston) 49, 66, 69, 97.
 Peter, Epistle of St., 87.
 Petrie, A., 14, 15, 20, 21, 49.
 Pitarrow, 10, 12, 36, 158, 160.
 Pitscottie, Lindsay of, 68, 80, 81, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 105.
 Pope, The, II, 7, 87, 144.
 Power, M., 97.
 Pravity, Inquisitor of Heretical, 2, 3, 142.
 Priesthood of all Believers, Doc. of, 87, 88, 130, 144.
 Psalms, 59, 77, 86.
 Purgatory, Doc. of, 89, 144.
 Purvey, (see Wyclif), 54.

R.

Rankin, Lawrence of Sheill, 58.

Raynalde, Thomas, 123.

Reg. Sec. Conc., 79.

Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot., 11.

" Sec. " " " 10, 11.

Reid, Adam of Barskimming, 143.

" George of Daldilling, 57.

Repps, Bishop of Norwich, 17, 18.

Resby, James, 2.

Rhine, River, 22.

Ricart, Robert, 17.

Roger, Friar John, 63.

Rogers, Charles, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 45, 72, 81, 151, 157, 158, 159, 160.

Romans, Epistle to the, 49, 84.

Rome, 7, 8, 36, 70, 162.

Roths, Earl of, 39.

" Master of, 39.

Rough, John, 34.

Roxburgh, 154.

Ruddiman, T., 95.

Rymer's, Foedera, 31, 32, 155.

S.

Sacraments, 107, 117, 133.

S. (contd.)

Sadler, Sir R., 29, 30, 34,
44, 71.

Sadler Papers, 29, 31, 34, 49,
70, 71.

St. Andrews, 6, 39, 96, 107.

" " Castle, 51, 80, 81,
91, 101, 114.

St. Andrews Cathedral, 81, 82.

" " University, 2, 142.

St. Johnston (Perth), 49.

Saints, Worship of, 88, 126,
144.

Sampson, Bishop of Chichester,
18.

Sandilands, John of Calder,
40, 76, 78.

Scone, Abbot of, 142.

Scotichronicon, 2, 3, 142.

Scot, Sir J., 12.

Scotland, II, III, IV, 1, 8,
21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31,
32, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41-44,
47, 63, 71, 102, 103, 106,
112, 124, 142, 143, 144,
152, 154, 158, 159, 160.

Scripture, The Holy, 125, 126,
129.

Seres, William, 81.

Seyer, S., 20.

Shaw, Andrew of Polkemmet,
143.

Six Articles, Act of the, 21,
25.

Smalkald, 123.

Smith, L. T., 17.

Smyth, Robert, 7.

Solway Moss, 26.

Spaden, Wm., 66.

Spottiswoode, Arch-bis., 96,
100.

Stair, Lady Marian Chalmers,
143.

Statutes of Scot. Church, 2, 4.

Stevenson, Jas., 25.

Stirling, 30.

Strassburg, 22.

Straton, David, 97.

Switzerland, 22.

T.

Tantallon Castle, 71.

Tempilland, Laird of, 57.

Teviotdal, Arch-dean of, 163.

Theiner, A., 2, 29.

Tithes, 144.

Tradition, 125.

T. (contd.)

Trail, Bishop, 4, 145.
 Traprain, Law, 101, 102.
 Tylney, Emery, 9, 22, 24, 27,
 47, 115, 116, 119, 120,
 156.
 Tyndale, Wm., 50, 54.
 Tytler, P. F., 42, 43, 70.

U.

Uction, Extreme, 87.
 Usher (Wishart), 124.

V.

Vows - Monastic, 89.
 Vulgate, 55.

W.

Wallace, David, 97.
 Water, Holy, 87.
 Watson, James, 66.
 " John, 66.
 Wedderburn, John, James and
 Robert, 6, 60.
 Wharton, English Commissioner,
 153, 155.
 Wighton, John, 61.
 Williams, Thomas, 34.

Winram, Dean John, 82, 83, 91.

Winyit, Ninian, 4.

Wishart, George, of Drymme,
 12.

Wishart, M. Jas. of Pitarrow,
 10, 11, 12, 13.

Wishart, Sir John of Pitarrow,
 11, 12.

Wishart, Sir John, the Comp-
 troller, 11, 12, 13, 45.

Wishart, John, 10.

" " 11.

Wittenberg, 123.

Wodrow, Soc. Miscell. of, 51.

Worcester, Bishop of, 15, 16,
 150.

Wyclif, John, 1, 54.

Wyntoun, chronicler, 2.

Z.

Zurich, 22, 51.

Zwingli, U., 106, 109, 110.